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High Court to Study Deportation Appeals

by Maher Abukhater

The Israeli High Court halted a military advisory board's deliberations November 3 on an appeal by four Palestinians against their deportation amidst mounting local and international condemnation of the deportation orders.

The court issued a temporary injunction after it received two petitions from the four. The court said it would meet November 7 to consider the petitions which question the legality of the deportation orders and ask that the Israeli military commander who issued the orders be cross-examined by defense lawyers.

The military advisory board began deliberations last week on an appeal by the four men against their deportation order but refused to put the military commander on the witness stand. It also refused to allow the defense lawyers to see a 'secret' list of charges made against their clients. This is the first time the High Court has issued an injunction before the military advisory board made its recommendations.

The four men — dentist Azmi Shuaibi of al-Bireh, journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad of Dheisheh refugee camp, unionist Ali Abu Hilal from Abu Dis village, near Jerusalem, and Zaki Statieh of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip — were arrested early October 27 as a prelude to their intended deportation. Military Commander Amnon Shahak issued the deportation orders. The four men were given 48 hours to appeal their deportation according to the British Emergency Regulations of 1945 which the Israeli government uses as a base for its 'iron first' policy in the occupied territories.

The four men promptly appealed their deportation decision to the military advisory board which, on October 31, opened discussion on two cases only — Dr. Azmi Shuaibi and Ali Abu Hilal. The advisory board was to discuss the case against Abd al-Jawad on November 3 when the High Court issued its interim order. No recommendation was made by the board in any of these three cases.

Statieh's appeal, which was discussed separately, was refused. The Gaza military advisory board recommended his deportation in accordance with the military order. It also gave him an additional 48 hours to appeal this recommendation to the High Court.

In his appeal to the High Court, Statieh said the evidence presented against him did not justify his deportation and that it was also incorrect. The military rarely gives detailed evidence against a person slated for deportation. The full text of the 'evidence' is kept secret except from the judges and prosecutor. The defense lawyers are not entitled to study the evidence and therefore have to make their arguments based on what they perceive the evidence to be.

The High Court appeal includes a demand that defense lawyers study the evidence before a decision is made by the military advisory board. There is also a demand that the defense lawyers be allowed to question the regional military commander on the deportation decision. The advisory board had earlier rejected this request by the lawyers.

Appearing in front of the Israeli military advisory board, Dr. Shuaibi rejected oral charges made against him which included

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Najib Jwalis' family sit outside their sealed home amidst scattered belongings November 5./AO photo

Four Homes Sealed After West Bank Resistance

The Israeli military sealed off four homes this week owned by three Palestinian families in reprisal against alleged military operations carried out by members of their families.

Two of the homes are in Shu'fat refugee camp, in the Jerusalem area; the third in Ram, just north of Jerusalem; and the fourth in Hebron. All four homes were sealed November 5.

A large border guard unit began work on sealing the two Shu'fat camp homes early in the morning. Reports from the camp said the border guards closed off the camp and allowed no one to enter, including reporters, while they were sealing off the homes. The two homes were owned by Ghalib Abu Houdwan, 29, and Najib Jwalis, 33. Both were arrested a month ago and charged with planting bombs in the Jerusalem area that caused injury to a number of Israelis.

Ghalib Abu Houdwan owns another home in Hebron which was also sealed with cement later that same evening. The fourth sealed home in Ram is owned by Muhammad Hassan Abu Houdwan also arrested on the same charge as the other two.

According to residents in the area, more than 100 border guards took part in sealing off the homes. They said the soldiers dumped all the furniture outside leaving the families totally without shelter. Ghalib Abu Houdwan is married and has four children. Jwalis is also married and is the father of seven. Muhammad Abu Houdwan is married and has eight children.

All the homes were built with three rooms in addition to toilet facilities and a kitchen. It is not known what the afflicted families will do now that winter is approaching.

A military court in Lydda sentenced three Jerusalem residents to a 15-year prison term each on charges of membership in the Fatah guerrilla organization, carrying out military operations and receiving training in weapons. The three men are: Mahmoud Ali Ouesat, 35; Jamal Ali Ouesat, 23; and Nasser Muhammad Ali Ouesat, 21. They are residents of the Jabal al-Mukhabir neighborhood of East Jerusalem.

The Israeli military also placed Tulkarm dentist Thabit Ahmad Thabit under town arrest beginning October 28. The union of dentists in the West Bank issued a statement condemning the town arrest order and urging all nationalist institutions to express support to Thabit.

In Gaza City, two Israeli soldiers were wounded November 1 when a molotov bomb was thrown at their patrol in the central Palestine Square. Soldiers sealed off the area and conducted a search for the attackers. Several Gaza residents were rounded up for questioning.

An Israeli was wounded November 5 in East Jerusalem when he was attacked with a knife. The attack occurred near Damascus Gate. Several Arab passersby were arrested as well as a number of the Arab shopkeepers in the area of attack. Also in retaliation, the Israeli authorities banned all Jerusalem males from crossing the Jordan River.

Israeli reports said the attacker is believed to be a youth in his early 20s. The wounded Israeli was transported to hospital and is reported to be in critical condition.

Two molotov bombs were also thrown November 4 at an [illegible] refugee camp in the Nablus area. An Israeli army spokesman said no injuries or damage was caused from the bombs. Askar camp was curfewed for two days after the incident and many residents were arrested.

A Nablus student was wounded in the head when Israeli soldiers chasing suspected stone-throwers fired rubber bullets. Yusef Ja'arim, a student at al-Rawdah College, was rushed to hospital, where he was listed in moderate condition.

Military sources said the incident occurred when an Israeli bus was pelted with stones as it drove through Faisal Street. A number of passengers were reportedly injured. Troops sealed off the area, chased a number of suspects and detained some of them. During the chase, soldiers fired rubber bullets, injuring Ja'arim, the sources said.

Meanwhile, a new organization calling itself "Union of Galilee Christians" took responsibility this week for an explosion in the Israeli town of Afula November 3. In a statement issued in Beirut, the organization warned Israelis of reprisals because of their provocations of the Palestinian population. It said the union will work through the PLO in the Galilee area and the rest of the world against Israeli targets.

This is the second communique issued by the new organization. The first one also took responsibility for an earlier explosion at Afula which it said was in retaliation for the killing of Alex Odeh the Palestinian-American head of the Anti-Discrimination Committee in California.

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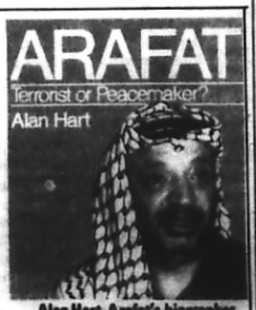

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The main street in Aqbat Jabr refugee camp in Jericho. It is soon to be demolished.

UNRWA Approves Military Demolition of Jericho Camps

by Daoud Kuttab

Israeli bulldozers are set to destroy all unused homes in the Palestinian refugee camps in the Jericho area.

The planned demolition, which was approved by UNRWA headquarters in Vienna, is in line with persistent Israeli attempts to remove all signs of the Palestinian refugee problem, which resulted from the establishment of Israel in 1948.

UNRWA sources reported that the camp demolition is scheduled to start at sunrise on Friday, November 8. Eighty thousand Palestinian refugees used to live in Ain al-Sultan and Aqbat Jabr refugee camps prior to 1967. Today, according to an UNRWA census of June 1985, a total of 3089 Palestinians live in Aqbat Jabr while only 666 live in Ain al-Sultan.

The agreement to destroy unused homes was reached on October 31 of this year by an exchange of letters between the outgoing UNRWA Commissioner General Olof Rydbeck and the Israeli Ambassador in Vienna.

According to UNRWA Spokesman William Lee, UNRWA received "cast iron assurances" that the entire camp areas will be retained by UNRWA and that only houses unoccupied by humans or animals will be destroyed. After destruction the Israelis reportedly will stop using the camp vicinity for military practice.

Staff members of UNRWA have spent the past week marking occupied houses and plan to be on hand to make sure the Israeli bulldozers don't exceed their limits.

According to UNRWA officials in Jerusalem, the cleared land will be used for future projects. "We would like to start an agricultural training project if we can find the funds for it," said Lee.

Israeli officials have repeatedly requested the removal of the unused homes stating that they are a health hazard. The homes have caused sanitation problems, breed snakes in the summer and are reported to have been used by undesirables.

Local residents were divided on the question. Most of those contacted by *Al Fajr* preferred not to comment. UNRWA officials have claimed that residents were satisfied with the arrangement worked out between UNRWA and the Israeli government.

The Israeli authorities demolished Nwe'imeh refugee camp also in the Jericho area several months ago on similar pretexts. UNRWA also approved the razing of that camp.

British Refused PLO Change to London Statement

England refused to consider a change in the prepared British statement, supposed to be read after the joint Palestinian-Jordanian meeting with England's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe last month, reports from London said.

The meeting, which was scheduled to take place on October 14, was cancelled after the Palestinian members of the delegation refused to sign a statement recognizing Israel. Both the British and Jordanian governments blamed the Palestinian delegates for the aborted meeting. They claimed that the Palestinians had retracted their earlier agreement on the statement.

During an internal discussion at the British House of Commons, October 28, the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs revealed however that the Palestinian delegation had offered to endorse the statement prepared by England and Jordan if it did not explicitly mention Israel by name. The British statement read "...They stated that in accordance with these resolutions a settlement should recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination within the context of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, as well as the right to secure existence of all states in the area, including Israel within its 1967 borders." The PLO's change was to cross out the reference to Israel, leaving the statement to refer to all states in the area.

Meanwhile, reports from Amman said that miscommunications between the Jordanian and Palestinians largely contributed to the embarrassment that accompanied the aborted meeting.

Reliable sources in Amman said that the Jordanian government had showed a lack of responsibility in dealing directly on an individual basis with the members of the Palestinian delegation rather than with the PLO Executive Committee as a whole.

Amman sources said that Jordan, which worked out the final statement with the British, presented the statement text to Bishop Elia Khoury in Amman shortly before his departure to London. Khoury reportedly made some changes in the text but did not notify PLO officials.

Jordanian officials also tried to show the statement to Muhammad Milhem, the other delegate, but he was on urgent business in the US and Europe. Milhem was unable to return to Amman. He said instead that he would see the text in England. In England, Milhem asked the British to amend the document but they refused. So he refused to sign the statement. Thus, the meeting was cancelled.

The British had been unprepared for any disagreement from Milhem because they had erroneously been informed by Jordanian officials that the PLO had seen and approved of the document.

Military Wants 7000 Dunums of Ojah Land

A number of farmers in the Ojah area, in the Jordan Valley, appealed to the Israeli Defense Ministry not to close off their farmland from which they earn their living.

A statement issued by "owners of property near Ojah" and published in *Al Quds* Arabic daily November 5, said that an army unit on October 31 placed iron stakes around their land in preparation to put up a fence which will mean closing a large area of their farmland. The statement said the farmers also received orders not to cultivate the area east of the fence.

The area in question amounts to more than 7000 dunums of farmland used to plant watermelon and vegetables in the spring. The area has been planted for many years until last spring when the military commander of the Jericho area decided it was time to close more of the area west of the military zone with Jordan. Israel declared most of the area on the West Bank of the Jordan River, to a width of almost one kilometer, a closed military zone immediately following its occupation of the West Bank in 1967. However, farmers were allowed to plant crops on their land as far east as the fence which designated the beginning of the closed military zone.

According to one of the landowners, the Ojah farms are the only Arab farmland left adjacent to the Jordan River from the northern most end of the West Bank all the way south to Jericho. This includes most of the Jordan Valley area known to be the richest farmland in the occupied territories with a large supply of underground water. The West Bank of the Jordan has been expropriated by the Israeli military which turned all the farmland into Jewish cooperatives (kibbutz). The Israeli government has been saying that it intends to keep the Jordan Valley area a 'security zone' in case a peace agreement would be reached with Jordan which would lead it to withdraw from parts of the occupied territories.

The government recently closed most of the area in the Jiftlik, northern part of West Bank in the Jordan Valley, and demolished hundreds of shacks used by the farmers in that area.

Arab farms in the Jordan Valley, though owned by a score of Palestinian families, house hundreds of farmers from the Jericho area and the West Bank who live and earn their daily livelihood from working on these farms. It is estimated that more than 500 families will be hurt by the closure of thousands of dunums of farmland in the Ojah area. The property is owned by at least 15 Palestinian landowners.

Arafat, Mubarak Meet

The PLO and Egypt affirmed their commitment to closer relations thwarting recent Israeli and US attempts to exclude the PLO from participating in future peace negotiations.

This came at the end of the second session of talks between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Egyptian officials, including President Husni Mubarak in Cairo, November 6.

Arafat's three-day visit to Cairo, which is still officially boycotted by most of the Arab states since Sadat visited Israel in 1977, drew criticism from other Palestinian factions. Arafat's visit was intended to clear the air between the PLO and Egypt after the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship by Palestinian commandos. Palestinian-Egyptian and Palestinian-Jordanian relations suffered from the hijacking incident, especially since Israel and the US blamed the PLO for the hijacking.

PLO Spokesman, Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, told reporters after the second session of talks that President Mubarak praised the wisdom of the PLO leadership. He, however, asserted that Mubarak, referring to the *Achille Lauro*-hijacking incident, advised the PLO to take a lesson from the hijacking incident and to steer its future diplomatic efforts more carefully.

Earlier, Arafat accompanied President Mubarak on an airshow at Belbeis Air Base on Egyptian Air Force Day. New French-built *Mirage* 2000 fighters took part in the show.

On the first day of his visit, Arafat held a two-hour closed session with Mubarak. Other PLO officials, including Fatah Central Committee member Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), later joined the discussions. A joint working group was established to coordinate future diplomatic work.

Arafat's visit to Cairo was condemned by the Palestinian National Salvation Front (NSF) In a statement issued in Damascus, the NSF described the visit as a violation of Palestine National Council resolutions. The statement also called for a general popular conference to unify efforts to bring down the line that Arafat represents.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which also opposes PLO Chairman Arafat's line, but is not a member of the Salvation Front, also criticized the visit as a violation of the PNC resolutions. In a telephone interview with *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily, the Front said that the visit causes further divisions in the Palestinian arena.

Kollek and Notre Dame Lock Horns Over Taxation

by Baher Ashhab

Tension is running high between the Vatican and Israel after Jerusalem's Israeli mayor threatened to take legal action against a local Catholic center.

"Pay taxes or go to court," Teddy Kollek is reported to have told Catholic officials of the 100-year-old Notre Dame complex in the heart of Jerusalem. Kollek gave the church officials until February 1 to respond. He demanded that they pay municipal taxes on the Vatican-owned guest house and restaurant they operate within the complex. The officials on the other hand referred the issue to the Vatican for consultation. Privately they say that Kollek's "not so surprising action" is meant to put political pressure on the Vatican to alter its stance with regard to the status of Jerusalem. "We are a non-profit religious center and as such should not be requested to pay taxes," they say.

Officials of the Notre Dame have over the last seven years repeatedly applied to Israel's Foreign Ministry for official ratification of the center's status as an ecumenical holy place. The ministry, however, has ignored the applications in hope of exchanging the ratification later for Vatican recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital in line with Israeli claims. Repeated statements by Pope John Paul II, the latest of which was last month, indicate that he has no intention of altering his position on the city as a place for all faiths. Pope Paul II is specifically at odds with Israeli politicians since he received PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat at the Vatican in 1983.

Notre Dame officials had kept a low profile over Kollek's tax demand and were surprised when the matter was leaked to Israeli papers. They see the leak as an attempt by Kollek to embarrass them and add more pressure on them. Sources in Notre Dame close to *Al Fajr* said that they were "extremely angered by Kollek's dirty tricks but were not surprised."

Israeli officials and Jewish organizations have always had an eye on Notre Dame because of its sensitive location on the 'green line' separating Arab East Jerusalem from West Jerusalem, and also because of its close cooperation with the local Palestinian population.

In 1970, the Jewish National Fund, an organ of the World Zionist Organization, paid a large sum of money for the complex and bought it from the Catholic Assumption Order who had maintained it since 1884 but was unable to continue because of the heavy damage the complex sustained during the 1967 war. The Vatican, however, opposed the transaction and managed to retrieve the structure in an out-of-court settlement. Kollek has claimed that he allowed for the out-of-court settlement only because he "thought that the Vatican might recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital in return."

After its reacquirement by the Vatican, the Notre Dame underwent several major reconstruction and renovation changes in which a guest house and restaurant became operative. Prior to 1967 Israeli soldiers

used it as a bunker and frontier post. It is now one of the most beautiful features of Jerusalem and has a good reputation as a comfortable pilgrim's home and Christian cultural center.

Kollek argued in his letter to the Catholic officials that the guest house and restaurant have made too high a profit to be considered a charitable center, saying the two are of higher standard than most other Christian guest homes. Notre Dame sources argue however that the Israeli municipality's claims are baseless since "he [Kollek] knows very well that the net profit from the hotel and restaurant go to pay for the other services within the church complex so that the whole operation nets no profit at all."

Church officials have refused comment on the issue saying that it is for the Vactican and the Israeli government to solve.

Balfour Declaration Day Marked After 68 Years

Despite increasing repression under the 'iron fist' policy, Palestinians in the occupied territories marked the 68th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, November 2 with demonstrations and strikes.

The declaration, which came in the form of a letter sent to the World Zionist Congress by Lord Balfour, the foreign secretary of the British government in 1917, affirmed his government's support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It then constituted the legal basis for Jewish immigration to Palestine. For the Palestinians, the notorious declaration meant British betrayal of their homeland and provoked annual protests by local groups.

Demonstrations

More than 30 women were arrested November 2 during a peaceful march in al-Bireh. An estimated 40 women emerged from Jamal Abd al-Nasser Mosque in the center of the city carrying placards denouncing the Israeli repressive policies, particularly the recent plans to expel four West Bank and Gaza men who were accused of incitement against the occupation authorities. The women also raised placards denouncing the Balfour Declaration.

The marchers, upon arriving at the Manara Square, were joined by a number of youth. Israeli soldiers, who are permanently stationed on rooftops overlooking the square or are assigned to street patrols, quickly moved against the protesters and dispersed them. They then arrested 30 women from the participants.

In Bir Zeit, students at the local university organized a march on campus. They then attempted to march toward Ramallah but were stopped by soldiers at checkposts erected since the early morning.

Bir Zeit University sources also told *Al Fajr* that Israeli troops stopped students and university staff from passing through the checkposts. According to Bir Zeit University officials, more than 200 cars and buses were held at the checkposts between 7:30 and 8:00 a.m. In a press release issued on the same day, university officials stated that the soldiers ordered all individuals to get out of the cars and buses, and ordered they be photographed in groups of three. They also demanded personal information about each. "Soldiers also warned a university official that the policy of photographing faculty, employees and students would continue from now on," the statement read.

The statement protested the new harassment and affirmed that the university "will not cooperate with a policy that treats members of the university community like prisoners." It went on to say that preventing students, employees and faculty from entering their university had serious consequences to academic life.

Later on the following day, Israeli soldiers raided the al-Hamra Palace Hotel in Ramallah, which is a student lodging for BZU, and searched the premises. The break-in was considered fallout to the previous day's protests.

Al-Masri Set to Take Charge of Nablus Municipality

The head of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce, Thafer al-Masri, filed a formal request November 6, with the Israeli military government to take over the city's municipality.

The CC step met with criticism from the elected-and-later-dismissed Mayor Bassam Shaka'a, and a number of municipal council members. Other sectors of Nablus society were split on the initiative.

The Nablus municipality and several other West Bank city halls were taken over by Israeli officers following the crackdown on nationalist municipal councils in 1982 for their refusal to deal with the Israeli 'civil administration'. The 'civil administration' was seen by the municipal councils as a tool to implement the Israeli planned autonomy scheme.

Al-Masri met with the military governor of Nablus and officially proposed transfer of municipality affairs to him. According to al-Masri, the meeting ended without a concrete result. "They said they will get back to us in the near future," he said. In practice, military permission to change the *status quo* is needed.

Claiming that they enjoy sufficient local support, Nablus' CC said they only need permission from Israeli military authorities before they can take over the city's municipality affairs for a one-year trial period. Al-Masri said that Nablus' all-Palestinian population has suffered extensively during the last three years ever since the municipality was taken over by an Israeli. He says that now is the time for a local authority to run the city's affairs.

In a telephone conversation with *Al Fajr* al-Masri argued that many local individuals as well as businessmen and institutions have approached him and supported his idea. They complained that ever since their legitimate mayor Bassam Shaka'a was dismissed in 1982, the city has not been provided with efficient services, said al-Masri.

Al-Masri said, however, that returning to the council did not mean he had accepted the circumstances that preceeded his resignation. "I rejected outright any dealing with the Israeli-imposed 'civil administration' and objected to Camp David's proposed autonomy, and I still do today," he said.

The idea of returning the Nablus municipality back to Arab hands has created a controversy since its announcement over a month ago. Those who oppose it fear that it could undermine Shaka'a's position while allowing Israeli authorities to meddle in municipality affairs regardless of who runs it. Shaka'a himself has come out strongly against the plan. He considers the transfer of the municipality from an Israeli to an Arab a move that could legitimize Israeli military policies in the city. He described the proposed move, in an interview with *Al Sha'ab* newspaper November 5, as one that "is not in our people's best interest."

Shaka'a has on many occasions before insisted that the municipality returns to the elected body of which he is leader.

Another Nablus resident who opposes the move is council member Khaldun Abd al-Haq, who argues that the transfer "fits well with Peres' latest statements about an 'improved autonomy' for Palestinians in the West Bank." This would undermine the local Palestinian leadership and the PLO in deciding the future of the West Bank. Others in opposition doubt that the Chamber of Commerce is actually able to run the municipality, in addition to the CC.

New UNRWA Chief

Former Italian diplomat Giorgio Giacomelli replaced outgoing United Nations Relief and Works Agency Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck. Rydbeck, a former Swedish Foreign Ministry official retired October 31, after six-and-a-half years as commissioner-general.

Giacomelli, 55, has served for nearly 25 years in his country's diplomatic service before he was appointed in 1981 as the Director-General of the Italian Department of Cooperation and Development which deals with all Italian bilateral and multilateral aid to developing countries.

Olof Rydbeck (right) with the new UNRWA Commissioner-General Giorgio Giacomelli./UNRWA photo.

JEC Denies Asking for Jordan Power

by Maher Abukhater

Conflicting signals were transmitted this week regarding the East Jerusalem Electric Company.

While Israeli officials contend that the company president, Anwar Nusseibeh, requested that the JEC be linked to the Jordanian power grid, a company spokesman denied any such requests.

Israeli Energy Minister Moshe Shahal was quoted as saying October 31 that the JEC discussed with him the possibility of buying power from the Jordanian company in order to overcome JEC financial difficulties. Speaking at a luncheon, Shahal said he was considering the company's proposal but needed some time to study its technical feasibility.

A spokesman for the JEC refuted Shahal's statements saying no JEC official proposed anything to the Israelis and neither did the Israelis suggest anything in return. To confirm that the East Jerusalem company is not planning to link itself to any other power grid, the spokesman said the company is in the process of installing four new generators at its Shu'fat grid, north of Jerusalem.

Linking the JEC to the Jordanian power company was one of the options mentioned earlier by the JEC following strenuous financial difficulties. The JEC currently buys more than 90 percent of its electric current from the Israeli regional power company. As a result, the JEC became indebted by more than five million US dollars to the Israeli company. The amount was due in full last month but the East Jerusalem company has not yet been able to raise the money. This puts it in a precarious situation. The Israeli company may file suit to take over the Arab-owned power company in order to collect its debt.

In the proposal to link the JEC to Jordan, the idea was to establish an Arab company that will supply power to Arab East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank, while the Israeli regional company would supply the energy to the Israeli settlements established since 1967.

The talk about supplying the JEC with electric current through a grid system originating in Jordan came amidst reports of intensified efforts to draw Jordan into unilateral peace talks with Israel. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who is spearheading these efforts, has shown signs that he would allow Jordan to increase its influence in the occupied territories as a first step towards minimizing a PLO powerbase among the local Palestinian population and institutions.

Peres' measures are looked at with suspicion not only by nationalist Palestinians but also by his partners in the government, the right-wing Likud faction. Likud ministers oppose any peace plan that would return Arab sovereignty to the Israeli-occupied territories. Among the strongest opponents to supplying the JEC with current from Jordan are Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i. Speaking on Israel Radio October 31, Moda'i said he opposed any attempt to supply current from Jordan. He said he opposed this proposal in 1982 and remains in opposition to it.

A Catholic nun commemoratss Christ's baptism at the Jordan River October 31.

Franciscans Resume Jordan River Baptism

For the first time in 18 years, the Israeli authorities allowed Franciscan Catholics to celebrate Jesus Christ's baptism in a traditional pilgrimage to the Jordan River.

Six busloads of people, mostly Franciscan monks and nuns escorted by Israeli troops, drove through the Israeli-fortified military zone along the Jordan River shore on Thursday, October 31. The group also included the consuls of Italy, France, Belgium and Spain, in addition to the Franciscan custodian of the Holy Land, Father Ijinazio Manchini. A number of Israeli officials, including the 'civil administration' head, and officials of the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs were also present at the ceremony. The mass was held at a small riverside chapel, which was cleaned up beforehand. The group spent one hour and a half on the site, which is believed by the Catholic church to be the site of Jesus' baptism.

The permission to hold the ceremony was given recently on request from the custodian of the Holy Land. A priest at the custodian's office in East Jerusalem told *Al Fajr* that the custodian wrote the Israeli 'civil administration' at the West Bank military headquarters in Beit El, near Ramallah, and arranged with them for the ceremony. The Israelis cleared the area of mines to allow for safe passage to the holy site.

An earlier request by the same Franciscan order last year was turned down on "security" pretexts. The priest said the Israelis did not give further explanation for the earlier refusal. He, however, said that it is possible that they were referring to mines in the area.

Press Banned From West Bank Trouble Spots

Following in the footsteps of the apartheid regime of South Africa, the Israeli authorities issued new restrictions on the movement of local and foreign journalists reporting protests and demonstrations in the occupied territories.

The ban order for journalists in the West Bank and Gaza issued on November 3, originated from the Israeli military commander for the central region who ordered areas of unrest "closed military areas," thus preventing television crews and newspaper photographers from entering the area and reporting on the incidents.

It was not clear why the Israeli army decided to order the ban, but at least in the case of South Africa the ban was triggered by wide international sympathy for the black majority that regular television coverage of protests had obtained. The Israeli daily *HaAretz* suggested that the military decision followed an attempt by local and international television crews to film an unauthorized demonstration by hundreds of Jewish settlers in the Golan and the Jordan Valley who were demanding government financial aid for their settlements. The demonstrators blocked major roads and burned hay and onions on access roads between Palestinian towns.

Reports of the incident were damaging to Israeli settlement policies in the occupied territories which are based on maintaining the credibility and political stability of these settlements. The settlers were quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* the next day as saying that they are indebted by over a US 100 million dollars and that many of their farming and housing projects are on the verge of collapse.

This is not the first time, however, that Israeli authorities have clamped down on media reporting in the occupied territories. Prior to 1980, the army used to forbid passage through roadblocks to journalists unless they obtained a special permit from military officials. On several occasions, the army declared the areas of unrest closed, thus preventing journalists from entering them. On other occasions, soldiers attacked reporters and damaged or confiscated their equipment.

Since 1980, the decision to ban journalists from areas of unrest became the responsibility of army officers on the spot who usually carry signed orders for such purpose. They are known to use the ban arbitrarily and according to the degree of seriousness of the incident.

The International Federation of Journalists condemned the army move describing it as an attempt to limit the freedom of the press. Roman Frista, Israel's representative to the IFJ told *Al Fajr* that the IFJ will oppose any such attempts to hamper their work. The Association of Foreign Journalists also endorsed such a stance, said Frista.

THE COURAGE TO CARE

Over half of the four million Palestinians are registered refugees, with as many as 764,000 still living in 61 refugee camps dispersed throughout the Middle East.

Political issues aside, these forgotten, homeless, and dispossessed Palestinians—men, women and children, need your urgent support.

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Police Investigate Al Ittihad

Hardly a month after Israeli authorities closed down a local Palestinian newspaper for allegedly being financed by a PLO group, Israel police last week initiated an investigation into another newspaper for its sympathy with Palestinian commandos.

The investigation, called for by the Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir, centered around a news report by the Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* newspaper, published by the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah). The news report in question dates back to October 8. The front-page report was a mere summary of an Israel Radio report on the killing by the Israeli army of four Palestinian commandos in the Hebron hills a few days earlier. *Al Ittihad*, however, replaced the radio's use of the word "terrorists" with "Fedayin" (freedom fighters). It also added its own conclusion to the report which read "occupation forces had attributed to the cell members a number of brave resistance acts."

The Israeli attorney general is said to have been angered by the way *Al Ittihad* reported the event and promptly brought it to the attention of Israeli police.

The attorney general asked the police to investigate whether *Al Ittihad*, the only Arab daily inside the 'green line,' has violated the 1980 "anti-terror ordinance" which calls for imprisonment of up to three years for "anyone who shows sympathy or support to violent acts that result in fatality."

An *Al-Ittihad* journalist, when contacted by *Al Fajr*, saw the call for an investigation as an attempt to punish the 43-year-old paper for its "unyielding stance in support of Palestinian rights and its objective reporting of their grievances."

"It sounds like an attempt to suppress freedom of expression just like they did with *Al Darb* less than a month ago," he said. Israeli authorities closed Jerusalem weekly *Al Darb* on October 4 for allegedly accepting funds from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

The Dawn
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AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Separate Peace Not Lasting Solution

For many years, students of the Middle East have looked on the Arab-Israeli conflict as a regional problem between sovereign states, often missing the Palestinian dimension. Similarily, international efforts were exerted to handle each country alone and try to satisfy its particular needs.

First, Egypt was the target. With a couple of billion dollars and the return of Sinai, Egypt was neutralized. With Egypt out of the way, pressure was exerted on Lebanon to sign a peace treaty. Jordan and Syria were also targeted with the emphasis on Jordan and its 'moderate' ruler King Hussein.

Despite the disastorus outcome, Israel and its major supporter the US continue putting all their eggs in the basket of separate treaties, disregarding Arab desires for comprehensive solution's that would include solving the Palestinian problem.

In 1967 the international community represented by the UN Security Council didn't consider the Palestinian problem except as one involving refugees. In Israel under Golda Meir the Palestinians didn't even exist. Later, the Israeli leaders recognized the Palestinians. Former Prime Minister Menachem Begin called us "two-legged animal." His chief of staff Raphael Eitan reduced Palestinians to "cockroaches" and Sharon wanted to over throw Jordan and make a Palestinian state there.

Recently, partially abondoned Palestinians refugee camps near Jericho have been targeted. The Israelis apparently can't bear any physical sign of Palestinians whatsoever.

Admittedly, the present Israeli Prime Minister has upgraded the status of Palestinians somewhat and is prepared to negotiate with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. But the crucial question is which Palestinian Peres is willing to talk to. And whether Palestinians' national rights will be discussed.

Reaching a correct answer to these questions would most certainly advance the cause of real peace in the area. Deep down, Israeli leaders must know that the PLO is the sole and legitimate representative of Palestinians. Therefore their avoidance of dealing with the PLO simply means they are not interested in reaching a just and lasting peace. Any attempts to bypass the PLO will fail. Hussein knows it, Mubarak knows it and the Israelis know it. It is high time the Israelis admit it and act accordingly.

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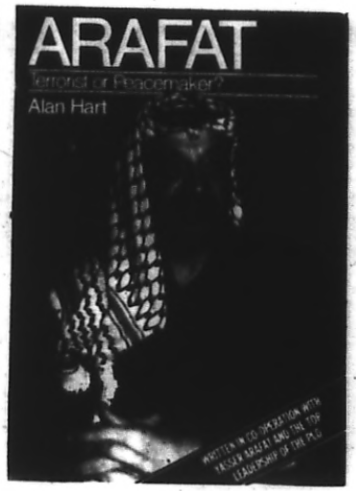
Arafat Biographer Defends PLO Chairman in US



Alan Hart's 1984 biography of Arafat.

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, D.C. Correspondent

It was absolutely the worst of times for anyone to try to convince Americans that Yasser Arafat is indeed a peacemaker and not a terrorist. Yet, in the midst of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, Alan Hart, author of the recent book *Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker*, was doing just that, and doing it very well. Hart was on an extensive fall tour of the United States.

Although his book is full of details and data supporting the conclusion that Arafat is indeed a peacemaker, for those who have not read the book, or for those who have read it and refuse to believe it, or for those who wanted Hart to defend his findings, he certainly did a good job. While in Washington for a relatively short period of time, Hart appeared on more than 20 television shows in addition to more than 30 radio programs. The aim of these appearances — as well as other gatherings and working lunches — was to try to show the other side of the Middle East conflict, not often heard in this capital. Hart's British accent captivated many Americans and his previous experience as a BBC correspondent gave him special credibility with his audience, a required asset for anyone trying to defend the PLO.

It is hard for those not living in the US, or those who haven't lived here during a similar crisis, to imagine the mood of the American people following an act such as the hijacking of TWA flight 847 or the *Achille Lauro*. The Arab people as a whole are usually blamed for the act, in such situations, and they are all made to feel responsible for it. This also applies to non-Arabs who attempt to explain and articulate the issues at hand.

In such circumstances, nothing — or almost nothing — convinces certain Americans that the PLO is anything but a group of "terrorists and murderers." Despite all of this, Alan Hart very eloquently spoke about the legitimate and just cause of the Palestinians and the PLO, their peace proposals and their sincere intentions to reach a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The research which he had done for the book supplied him with a wealth of credible information to make his case before America.

Arafat, Hart said in one of his TV appearances, "risked his life [in order] to persuade his colleagues in the leadership and his people to realize that one day they were going to have to be prepared to make peace with Israel." This peace, Hart said, was to come in exchange for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. Asked why he thinks the PLO doesn't recognize the right of Israel to exist, Hart said that unless and until Israel recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, no Palestinian leader can grant Israel that recognition. If Palestinians do recognize Israel's right to exist before Israel recognizes that of the Palestinians, then Palestinians "would be delegitimizing their own struggle and renouncing their own claim" to their rights.

Hart stressed the differences between armed struggle — the Palestinian's "international legal right to resist foreign occupation" — and acts which may be acts of terror, such as the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship the *Achille Lauro*, and the killing of Mr. Klinghoffer. Hart also argued successfully that the invasion of Lebanon, for example, was state terrorism. Hart also defended the Amman agreement of February 11 as cabable of producing a peaceful solution, only if Israel and the US are ready for peace.

Hart criticized and condemned the Israeli destruction of the PLO offices in Tunis, and made the point that there wasn't necessarily a relation between the killing of Israelis in Larnaca, whom he said were Mossad agents, and the bombing of PLO offices in the Tunisian capital. The bombing of Tunis, he argued, was an attempt to assassinate PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and to kill the peace initiative of February 11 as well. Israel, he said, doesn't want peace and killing Arafat would put an end to hopes for a peaceful solution in the near future.

"THE BOMBING OF TUNIS WAS AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT AND TO KILL THE PEACE INITIATIVE OF FEBRUARY 11 AS WELL."

Hart also discredited the argument that the establishment of a Palestinian state would pose a threat to Israeli security when he quoted a former Israeli general who told him, "The trouble with us Israelis is that we have become the victims of our own propaganda." It is Israeli propaganda, therefore, he said, that has created the widespread belief that a Palestinian state would be a threat to Israel's existence.

On another occasion, Hart told of his experience at mediating peace between the Israelis and the PLO. Providing details that are not readily available, Hart blamed the Israelis involved, and the election of Menachem Begin to the premiership of Israel, for the failure of those intense and at times very close calls at victory.

From Washington, Hart went on to the Midwestern state of Illinois, where he is expected to perform just as well as he did in the US capital. If educating the American public about the just cause of the Palestinian people is helpful, and indeed it is, Hart's visit to the US was a productive one. The Palestinian lot, however, depends on more than just correct information reaching the American public; what is needed in the final analysis, is a combination of information dissemination, peace talks and, of course, armed struggle.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Time for Reason and Mutual PLO -Israel Talks

by Yehuda Ben-Moshe

The parliamentary success of Prime Minister Shimon Peres over his Likud partners in the government of national unity may well turn out to have been a Phyrus victory. For in the doubtful case that King Hussein's reaction to Peres' 'Jordanian option' will indeed lead to any kind of negotiation in the not-too-distant future, what can be expected of Hussein's attitude and aims but the demand to reestablish his former (illegal) rule in the West Bank and East Jerusalem?

I could imagine a substantial objection on the side of most Palestinians — under Israeli rule or anywhere in the Palestinian diaspora — to such a renewal of Jordanian rule. It could not actually further the cause of Palestinian national self-determination. However, it may well be that such a potential development constitutes the real motive of people supporting the abortive 'Jordanian option.'

As a member of the Israeli peace movement, there is nothing more ridiculous to me than the bizarre attempt to politically sterilize Palestinian representatives to any scheduled negotiations by insisting on their 'non-PLO' biography. How would we Zionists have met such a demand in the past by the British or other parties as a precondition to accept our authentic spokesmen?

I, of course, object to political and personal terror no less than any of my fellow Israelis and in my eyes it also morally and practically weakens the Palestinian cause. But I am also fully aware of the fact that as long as we deprive the Palestinians of their true national identity and refuse to meet them as political equals, we practically give them no real non-violent choice or chance to express their legitimate national interests. After all, that was the lesson of former *Man Man* leader Tomo Keryatta, who eventually became one of Africa's elder and most respected statesmen. It should by now be clear even to Israeli leaders that as long as they continue to evade a political solution of the fundamental Palestinian-Israeli conflict, it will be impossible to prevent a fatal escalation of further violence.

It seems to me that just now we have again arrived at one of those rare crossroads of history that serve from time to time as starting points for new perceptions and developments. For any thoughful Israeli, it should not be too difficult to realize that what started in June 1982 with the paradoxically designated 'Operation Peace for the Galilee' after a few months turned out to be Israel's first lost war, if only because of the unacceptable price of close to 700 human lives and thousands of invalids and physically handicapped people. The simple and unescapable fact that even the massive use of Israel's destructive army did not achieve the goal of liquidation of the Palestinian problem by physical annihilation of its orphans convincingly testifies that the only possible way to a constructive settlement is the one followed some 25 years ago by President Charles de Gaulle in the case of Algeria. We should learn the lesson of this impressive soldier and statesman who liberated France from a harassing military and political entanglement by meeting Ahmad Ben Bella and other FLN leaders at the negotiation table. It really should not be too difficult for Israel's leaders to likewise behave rationally and terminate our tragic encounter with the Palestinians by meeting their authentic spokesmen, whoever they might be.

There is, of course, no chance for the attainment of any advance towards peace if the efforts to achieve this final goal are one-sided instead of a mutual and cooperative operation. It is therefore an absolute necessity from the Palestinian side to contribute their share to this peace process at least in two crucial aspects. The first is restrictive — an immediate, at least temporary, cessation of any terrorist activity toward targets in Israel and against Israeli and Jewish objects in any other place. As long as this absolute necessity is not fully understood on the Palestinian side, there will be no chance at all for any advance towards peace and readiness to understand vital Palestinian interests. On the contrary, for any continuation of fatal attacks in Israel or brutal murders as in Larnaca, Barcelona and on ships like the *Achille Lauro*, there will be effective retaliation as in Tunisia and other relevant places. These will be supported by most Israelis, including members of the peace movement, as well as Jews all over the world. It should be absolutely clear that any such activity will be harmful and self-defeating even to legitimate Palestinian interests, not only from the perspective of Israelis and Jews, but also from the entire demoratic world.

The second important issue that needs to be understood by the Palestinians as a vital necessity on the road to peace is the finality of any mutually agreed settlement of our drawn-out conflict. Each nation on the road to independence has its dreams and maximalist national aspirations, which often serve as a spiritual standard for the masses on the move. We have 'Gush Emunim' ('Camp of the Faithful') to deal with on the road to peace, and the Palestinians have their own similar radicals barricading that steep and uphill path. However, both sides are equally compelled to limit those maximalist tendencies by the iron rules of political reality.

The basic facts of Middle Eastern reality in the last two decades of this century prevent both sides from achieving a settlement satisfying their maximalist religious and political aspirations in the limited territory of former Palestine. Just as the Jewish 'Greater Israel' movement will have to concede most of their Messianic aspirations in the 'Holy Land,' so Arab, Muslim and Palestinian maximalists will have to be satisfied with part of the same territory claimed by them. The logical conclusion of this state of affairs is a mutual attitude of territorial compromise for the sake of peace and the renunciation of any hidden ideas of using the mutually negotiated territories as jumping boards for future expansion. If both sides to the present conflict are serious about attaining lasting peace, no price will be too high for that goal.

Any other alternative might turn out to be fatal for both our nations and probably for the future of all mankind.■

PLO Must Redefine National Unity

by Ali Jarbawi and Jamal R. Nassar

Since the war of June 1967 Palestinian national unity has been seen as a necessary prerequisite for the achievement of Palestinian goals and aspirations. Consequently, the Palestine Liberation Organization became the framework within which national unity was achieved. This unity, which basically revolved around the idea of consensus among the various Palestinian commando groups on declared decisions became a *de facto* notion which was universally accepted. To deviate from the accepted declared decisions meant deviation from the principle of working for the national goals.

Today, however, internal differences are threatening the PLO with secession. There were major differences over the convening of the 17th Palestine National Council session; and there have been clashes in the occupied territories between supporters and opponents of the meeting, with each side perceiving the other to have violated the principle of national unity. The current situation is not acceptable to either side in the Palestinian national movement.

The 17th PNC meeting in Amman did not end the dispute. No concerned Palestinian can be pleased with this situation of dispute and disagreements. First, it could lead to a total split within the PLO at both the tactical and strategic levels. Second, it could cause an internal struggle that will divert Palestinian resources from fighting their external enemies. Third, internal division at the national level could jeopardize many of the Palestinian institutions in the occupied territories and deprive the Palestinian people of many of the necessary services that these institutions provide.

Already serious divisions have occurred in the ranks of the general unions of Palestinian workers, teachers, women, writers and journalists. This could have a negative influence upon the representative character of the PLO and put into question its very legitimacy. Such a situation will only benefit Israel as it continues its process of Judaization of the occupied lands. This situation will also open the way for others to interfere in the internal affairs of the Palestinians.

It is the contention of the authors that the notion of national unity as it was understood and practiced among the various Palestinian factions has led to the current problems facing the PLO, and they suggest a new understanding of national unity.

From the beginning, a consensus emerged within the PLO that Palestinians should not get entangled in the Arab "cold war". Thus, the doctrine of non-interference was adopted as the strategy for the organization; PLO leaders felt that they had enough internal problems, yet, given Arab rivalries and shifting alliances, as well as differing Arab perceptions of a solution to the Palestine problem, the PLO found itself entangled in inter-Arab affairs. This was due, in part, to PLO insistence on Palestinian national unity. To hope for Arab consensus on a solution to the Palestinian problem in the near future seems to be unrealistic, given the nature of Arab differences today. Even the consensus that emerged at the Fez conference is unrealistic in that some Arab countries soon began to acquiesce in new intiatives such as the Reagan peace plan.

These dimensions to the Palestinian struggle require the PLO to act with freedom and dynamism if it accepts the premise that there can be no solution without these forces. National unity, as it has been practised, deprived the PLO of such freedom and dynamism; consequently, it became a prisoner of its own insistence on consensus.

National unity helped the PLO to gain recognition during the early stage of its development. Changes, however, were required after this recognition was achieved. The PLO's continued dependence on consensus in decision-making led eventually to divisions within its ranks. Consequently, the next stage for PLO development requires changes in Palestinian understanding of national unity. Today, it seems that the PLO is condemned to have either unanimity without strategy, or strategy without unanimity. The era of the balance of indecision should come to an end. Palestinian factions should realize that consensus on tactics is not as necessary as a consensus on strategy. Therefore, the notion of national unity on tactics and strategy should be abandoned as it deprives the PLO of its freedom and dynamism.

The political-diplomatic struggle, which is perceived to be moderate, has to be left to develop and take its course, but it should be accepted that there is opposition to it. Such a tactic should allow the PLO to achieve whatever gains are possible along such avenues. There are many, even among the Palestinians, who are unhappy with the PLO's constant policy of rejection; some do feel that a political solution is possible. Therefore, the PLO must attempt to respond to peace initiatives in ways that do not give it a rejectionist look. Similarly, armed struggle, even though it is perceived to be extremist, must develop and take its course with the recognition that there is opposition to it. The advocates of armed struggle within the PLO could be important because they safeguard Palestinian rights in the case

Continued on page 15

Al-Bqea'a
Galilee Village Loses Land in Judaization Scheme

by Awad Abdel Fattah

On the drive up to al-Bqea'a village, it is almost necessary to catch one's breath. A narrow zigzag approach runs up the side of a steep mountainous region in which the Druze village is nicely situated. The village houses are built so close together that they look to be clinging to the mountain, almost as an outward sign of the villagers' inward resolve to stay put no matter what.

Al-Bqea'a has become the most talked about village in the Upper Galilee in the last few weeks with its name frequently appearing in the local press. This is not because of its beauty and distinct geographical positioning, but because of the growing pressure from the Israeli government on the people of the village and their land.

On September 13 of this year, the 3800 residents of al-Bqea'a were shocked by an Israeli court decision declaring one of the two village cemeteries Jewish. This step drew organized protest by the residents who believe the Israelis intend to Judaize their village, an action the residents believe has been pending for the last 10 years.

The recent conflict between the Israeli authorities and the village population revolves around a vital strip of land located at the eastern side of the village. The three-dunum plot called *al-Mahfara* was used by the people of the village as a source of dirt for building houses in the past. "It is part of the history of the village," said one old man. Part of *al-Mahfara* is used as a village cemetery. Beside it, there is also a Jewish cemetery used by the few Jewish families who have been living there for many years.

Today there are only two Jewish families left in Bqea'a. The rest left of their own, choosing instead to live in Jewish areas.

The conflict over *al-Mahfara* began back in 1967, when the Israelis claimed it as 'state land'. The local council at the time objected and the issue remained undecided until 1983 when the elected local council was dissolved by the Israeli authorities and replaced by an appointed three-man commitee.

Village houses cram the steep hillside in the Galilee community of al-Bqea'a.

The New Committee

Naif Salim, a former member of the local council and now a member in a newly-formed committee for the defense of *al-Mahfara*, said that the Israeli authorities believed they could take over *al-Mahfara* through an appointed committee. Thus they carefully picked the three committee members they believed were most likely to cooperate. Nazih Makhoul, another member of the defense of *al-Mahfara* committee, said that the Israelis intended to have the appointed committee merely fulfill the official objective. "But now," he said, "it is the people of the village and not the appointed committee who are leading the battle of *al-Mahfara*."

The confiscation of *al-Mahfara* would block village development and growth. Before the confiscation decision the local council was planning to open a road through the land. It was the only place on the eastern side of the village where a road could be opened, because of the steep terrain surrounding it.

The confiscation would also block access for 42 landowners to their land plots behind *al-Mahfara*. "This is why we believe that the real purpose of this step is not the three dunums, but it is a more dangerous plan," said Naif Salim. He said the people of the village feel that their very presence in the area is threatened. He added that since the confiscation order was issued by the court, several popular meetings were organized in the village and leaflets were circulated explaining the dangers of the plan and calling on the population to unite in their struggle against the Israeli plan.

Al-Mahfara – now declared Jewish land.

Nazih Makhoul said that a set of steps will be taken by the 26-member committee for the defense of *al-Mahfara*. Among these steps is an appeal against the confiscation order to the Israeli High Court and a planned demonstration in front of the Knesset. According to Makhoul, of the 17,000 dunums which the village owned in 1948, only 3000 are left. Most of the land has been confiscated in favor of Jewish settlements. The villages do not want to lose more.

A Judaization Plan

The people of al-Bqea'a believe that a plan of Judaizing the village has been going on for years primarily because a few Jewish families lived in the village. The residents view the confiscation of *al-Mahfara* and the declaration of the areas as Jewish as one of a number of steps toward this goal.

Saleh Khair, head of the Israeli appointed committee, attacked the continuing purchase of village houses by Jews, despite his affiliation with Zionist parties. So far, he said, 12 homes have been bought by a Jewish society whose identity is not known to the population. "We are not against Jews living in the village," said Khair, "but what is being done now by this Jewish society is adherence to a merely racist settlement policy." He compared the society's actions to the right-wing settlers in Hebron. According to Khair, this Jewish group pays very tempting prices for the homes. However, the village representative bodies have warned the population against selling more houses to the group.

Another measure by the Israeli authorities believed to be in line with a Judaization plan is their refusal to grant construction permits to most applicants wishing to build in the village. Over the past 20 years, about 60 families have been forced to leave the village and build houses on land some three kilometers away. Naif Salim said that the Israeli authorities encourage the people to move to there by granting them construction permits. "The Israelis just want to have the village evacuated," he said.

Those who have built in al-Bqea'a without the necessary permits have been tried and fined. Salman Khair said he received a fine of IS300,000 (US 195 dollars). last year. "I waited four years without receiving a construction license," he said. According to him, scores of villagers have been affected by this policy only in the last few years.

Dissolution of the Local Council

The village affairs are being administered officially by the Israeli appointed committee. The Israelis embarked on this step after they accused the members of the local council of failing to do their duty. Saleh Khair, head of the committee and also head of the former local council, believes the members of the dissolved local council refused to raise taxes and this, he believes "drove the authorities to stop allocating funds to the local council."

But former members of the local council dismiss this claim. A former member who asked not to be identified said this couldn't be the reason for the dissolution of the village's official representative body, because other local councils have also refused to raise taxes and were not dissolved. He said that most in the village believe the reason behind the dismissal of the local council was that half the members were ardent opponents of Israel's general policy toward the Arabs and toward the Druze community in particular.

Naif Salim said the Israelis were afraid of the growing influence "of the progressive forces on the policy of the local council whose chairman was not willing to struggle against the policy of open discrimination and neglect against our village." Naif Salim and others in al-Bqea'a are now waging the struggle themselves and the issue of *al-Mahfara* may be a perfect place to start. ■

UN Unable To Enforce Palestine Resolutions

After 40 years, they're back where they began

by Maher Abukhater

The Palestine question first found its way to the infant United Nations in February, 1947. Britain, which was given mandatory power over Palestine by the UN's predecessor the League of Nations, had requested that the UN find a feasible way out of the violence in Palestine. At that time British forces in Palestine were coming under heavy attack from separate Arab and Jewish armed groups; who at the same time were waging war against one another.

The UN decided to consider the issue Palestine which entailed giving independence to the Arab state while at the same time providing adequate accommodations to the Jewish population in Palestine. The intention of the UN members was to give the Jews a state of their own.

At the request of the British government, the UN General Assembly appointed special committees "to make recommendations... concerning the future government of Palestine." The UN Special Committee On Palestine (UNSCOP) was formed at the first UN General Assembly special meeting on Palestine on April 2, 1947. In only eight months of work, UNSCOP came up with plans calling for the partition of Palestine. On November 29, 1947 the UN General Assembly met to vote on a plan to partition Palestine into two states, one Arab and the other Jewish.

Perhaps the UN partition vote was the most important resolution on the Palestine question in the history of the international organization. When the assembly discussed the recommendations to partition Palestine on November 25 of that year, the vote could have gone either way. The debate was heated with members in the western and eastern camps supporting partition with others, mainly Arab states and some less developed countries, opposing it. Many merely abstained.

The pro-partition camp argued for the division of Palestine because they saw no other solution to reconcile the Arab and Jewish people. The US delegate: "I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this assembly or to the mandatory government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews... If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem it cannot be done without the use of the knife."

Even the Soviet delegate agreed: "If there two peoples that inhabit Palestine, both of which have deeply rooted historical ties with the land, cannot live together within the boundaries of a single state, there is no alternative but to create, in place of one country, two states — an Arab and a Jewish one."

Opponents to the plan argued it was illegal. The Philippines: "We have assessed the legal arguments and found that they are not the decisive factors in shaping a just and practical solution." Pakistan: "The proposal before the United Nations General Assembly says that we shall decide — not the people of Palestine, with no provision for self-determination, no provision for the consent of the governed — what type of independence Palestine shall have... The United Nations should seek and strive to unite and bring together rather than to divide and put asunder."

The General Assembly's final vote on November 29, 1947, on the partition plan, Resolution 181 (II), was 33 in favor, 13 opposed and 10 abstaining. Some of those who argued against the partition, like the Philippines, ended up voting for it. Most generally assumed that there had been a great deal of arm-twisting at the UN in the four days between discussing the proposal and voting on it. The final vote was divided as follows:

Voting in favor were: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byleorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Voting against were: Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.

Those abstaining were: Argentina, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.

The partition plan called on Britain to stay in Palestine until August 1, 1948, during which time the UN would take steps to oversee the implementation of its resolution. It also called for the internationalization of Jerusalem to be run by a UN trusteeship for a minimum period of 10 years. At the end of this period, the residents of Jerusalem were to be given a chance to decide if they wanted to change their status.

The plan allowed 10,000 Jews to remain in the proposed Arab state while 497,000 Arabs were to stay in the Jewish state expected to have a total Jewish population of 498,000. This 50/50 division in the proposed Jewish state contradicted speeches made by supporters of the partition plan on the inability of the Arabs and Jews to live together.

According to the partition resolution, the two 'independent' states were to take their final form not later than October 1, 1948. It also called for linking the two states in an economic union.

Some of the UN General Assembly Resolutions on Palestine

Resolutions	Date	Vote	Importance
181(II)	Nov 29, 1947	33(+), 13(−), 10(=)	Partitioned Palestine into two states
194(III)	Dec 11, 1948	35(+), 15(−), 8(=)	Called for return of refugees to homes
273(III)	May 11, 1949	37(+), 12(−), 9(=)	Admitted Israel to UN
302(IV)	Dec 8, 1949	47(+), 0(−), 6(=)	Created UNRWA
393(V)	Dec 2, 1950	46(+), 0(−), 6(=)	Called on UNRWA to reintegrate and resettle refugees in host countries
513(VI)	Jan 26, 1952	47(+), 0(−), 7(=)	Called on host countries to resettle refugees at earliest date
2535B(XXIV)	Dec 10, 1969	47(+), 22(−), 47(=)	First UN affirmation of Palestinian rights
2672C(XXV)	Dec 8, 1970	47(+), 22(−), 50(=)	Called for self-determination for Palestinians
3070(XXVIII)	Nov 30, 1973	97(+), 5(−), 28(=)	Recognized armed struggle in liberation movements
3210(XXIX)	Oct 14, 1974	105(+), 4(−), 20(=)	Invited PLO to participate in UN deliberations
3236(XXIX)	Nov 22, 1974	89(+), 8(−), 37(=)	Recognized PLO as representative of Palestinian people
3237(XXIX)	Nov 22, 1974	95(+), 17(−), 19(=)	Granted PLO observer status at UN
3379(XXX)	Nov 10, 1975	72(+), 35(−), 32(=)	Equated Zionism with racism

(+) indicates voting in favor, (−) opposed, (=) abstained

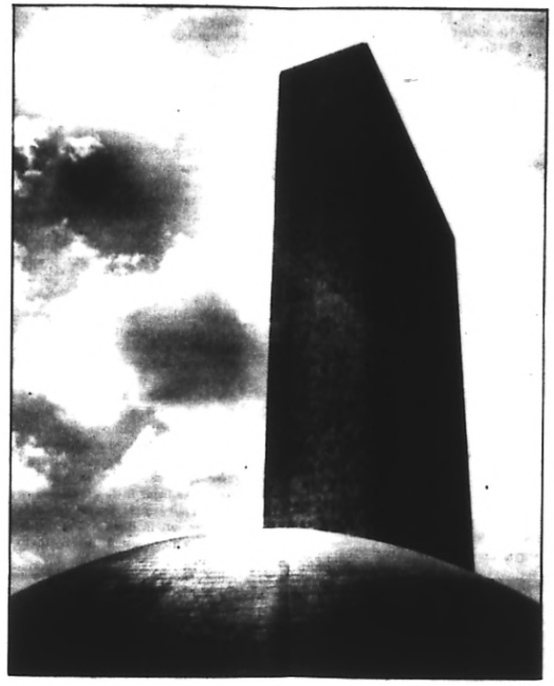
Resolution 181 (II) paved the way for making the Palestine question one of the most frequent issues discussed by the UN General Assembly. The years that followed witnessed adoption of resolutions almost totally opposed to the partition resolution and expressing regret over the status of the Palestinian people who were dealt a severe blow by the UN in 1947.

The question of Palestinian refugees and their well-being took up a good deal of UN discussion time in the years following the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948. An estimated one million Palestinians fled their homes in the early months of 1948 and settled in neighboring Arab countries or in the areas designated by Resolution 181 (II) as forming the Arab state.

The UN General Assembly in its May 14, 1948, meeting adopted Resolution 186 calling for the establishment of a post referred to as UN Mediator on Palestine. Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden was asked by the UN to "arrange for the operation of common services necessary to the safety and well-being of the population of Palestine .. (and) .. to invite, as seems to him advisable, with a view to promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of Palestine." Thirty-one countries voted in favor, including most of those who supported the partition resolution; seven opposed it, all of whom were from the eastern bloc; and 16 abstained, including the Arab members of the UN.

After visiting the area, Bernadotte wrote in his report that "the Arab leaders had become greatly concerned and incensed about the mounting distress among the huge number of Arab refugees. They considered the solution of this problem fundamental to a settlement of the Palestine question." The Mediator concluded his report by saying that "I must emphasize again the desperate urgency of this problem. The choice is between saving the lives of many thousands of people now or permitting them to die. The situation of the majority of these helpless refugees is already tragic, and to prevent them from being overwhelmed by further disaster and to make possible their ultimate rehabilitation, it is my earnest hope that the international community will give all necessary support to make the measure I have outlined fully effective."

Based on the Bernadotte report, the UN General Assembly issued on December 11, 1948, another important resolution on the question of Palestine. The resolution, number 194 (III), included a clause (paragraph 11) which clearly stated that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."



UN/photo

Resolution 194(III) also included a clause calling for the establishment of a Conciliation Commission of France, Turkey and the US, to assume the function of the UN Mediator. The Mediator, Count Bernadotte, had been earlier assassinated by the Jewish Stern gang in Jerusalem.

During the General Assembly voting on resolution 194(III), 35 countries supported it — mainly from Europe, Latin America as well as the US — and 15 opposed it, all from the Arab world and the eastern bloc. Eight primarily Latin American countries abstained.

In spite of Arab rejection of Resolution 194(III) based on their opposition to the whole partition idea, the Arabs later cooperated with the Conciliation Commission to find a solution to the refugee problem. They were hoping that the Commission could push the Jewish state back to the borders designated by the partition plan, or at least succeed in internationalizing Jerusalem as Resolution 194(III) emphasized. The new state of Israel had refused to abide by the UN resolution regarding the refugees and the status of Jerusalem.

In its third session, the General Assembly admitted Israel to the UN despite the fact that the Jewish state had failed to abide by the UN resolutions, particularly 181(II) and 194(III). On May 11, 1949, Resolution 273(III) was drawn up with 37 countries voting in favor, 12 opposing and 9 abstaining. The resolution said that the General Assembly "having received the report of the Security Council on the application of Israel for membership in the UN; Noting that in the judgment of the Security Council, Israel is a peace-loving State and is able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter; ... Noting further the declaration by the State of Israel that it 'unreservedly accepts the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertakes to honor them from the day when it becomes a Member of the United Nations'; Recalling its resolutions of November 29, 1947, and December 11, 1948, and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the Ad Hoc Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions; ... Decides that Israel is a peace-loving State which accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and is able and willing to carry out those obligations; Decides to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations."

Votes in favor included: Argentina, Australia, Byleorussia SSR, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Ukrainian SSR, Union of South Africa, USSR, USA, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Those abstaining were: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen.

Abstained: Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, El Salvador, Greece, Siam, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom.

When this resolution was adopted, Israel had still not returned to the borders of the partition resolution, the refugees were not allowed to return home and Jerusalem remained divided into Jewish and Arab sections.

As the refugee problem lingered on, the UN in its fourth session adopted Resolution 302(IV) which called for the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). This resolution was adopted on December 8, 1949, to replace the year old United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR) which was created according to Resolution 212(III) of November 19, 1948, at the recommendation of the Bernadotte report.

In Resolution 302(IV), the assembly said that "Recalling its Resolutions 212(III) of November 19, 1948 and 194(III) of December 11, 1948, affirming in particular the provisions of paragraph 11 of the latter resolution... Recalls that, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194(III) of December 11, 1948, continued assistance for the relief of the Palestine refugees is necessary to prevent conditions of peace and stability, and that constructive measures should be undertaken at early date with a view to the termination of international assistance for relief; ... Establishes the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East."

A year later, in December 1950, the fifth session of the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 393(V) which extended the works of UNRWA for another year. This resolution included some serious clauses. Paragraph four said that the General Assembly "considers that without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194(III) of December 11, 1948, the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement, is essential in preparation for the time when international assistance is no longer available, and for the realization of conditions of peace and stability in the area."

Paragraph five went on to say that the General Assembly "instructs the Agency to establish a reintegration fund which shall be utilized for projects requested by any government in the Near East and approved by the Agency for the permanent re-establishment of refugees and their removal from relief."

Forty-six countries voted in favor, none opposed and six abstained.

On January 26, 1952, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 513(VI) which invited countries hosting the refugees to assume "administration of reintegration projects at the earliest possible date."

The General Assembly was trying to gradually phase out UNRWA's mission by turning its responsibility over to the host governments. However, the assembly's plea was not heeded and it was forced in every new session to extend the work of UNRWA. All resolutions concerning the UN relief organization won almost total approval. They also recalled paragraph 11 of Resolution 194(III) which called for the return of refugees to their homes. They all urged its immediate implementation.

The June 1967 Arab-Israeli war closed the chapter on the first phase of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the international level. The second phase began soon after 1967 introducing dramatic changes in world opinion concerning the Palestinian problem. International condemnation of Israel increased while the Palestinian people made impressive gains.

Perhaps the most talked about resolution concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict has been Security Council Resolution 242 passed on November 22, 1967. It reads:

"*The Security Council;*

"*Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,*

"*Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security;*

"*Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter;*

"*1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:*

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict,

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

"*2. Affirms further the necessity:*

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area,

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem,

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

"*3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;*

"*4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.*"

The Palestinian and Arab arguments against 242 are well-known. For the Palestinians, 242 completely ignores their national aspirations and considers them nothing more than a 'refugee problem.' The Arab countries insist that Israeli withdrawal should be from all "the territories occupied" in the 1967 war. Israel maintains that 242 calls for withdrawal from "territories occupied" which they interpret as much less than a full army pullout to the pre-1967 borders.

Security Council Resolution 242 also diverted attention away from previous General Assembly resolutions, particularly 181(II) and 194(III) which, if applied, would force Israel to conceed more of the Palestinian territory which it took in the 1948 war and allow the return of the refugees to their homes.

Intensive efforts by active members of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the international and Arab levels turned things around in favor of Palestinian struggle to regain international recognition of their usurped rights.

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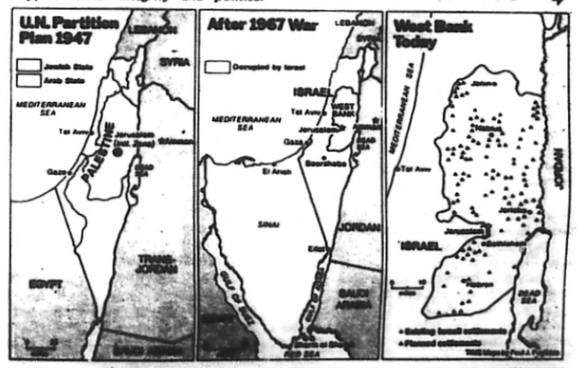
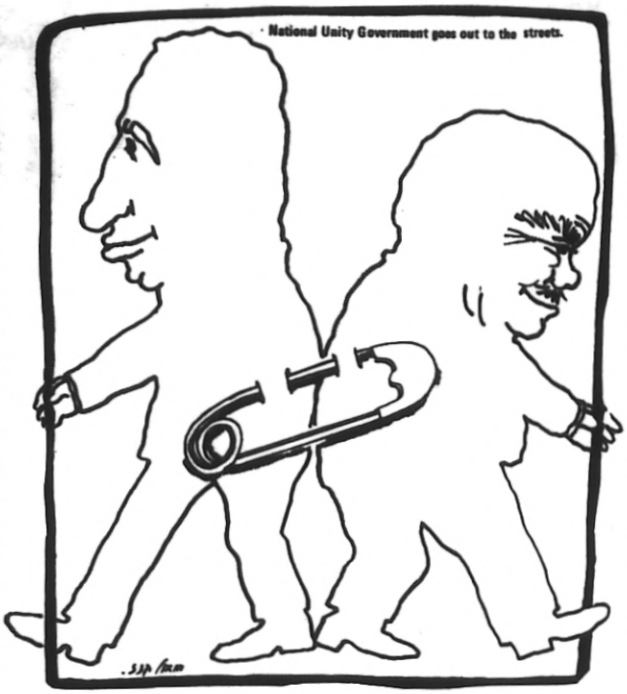
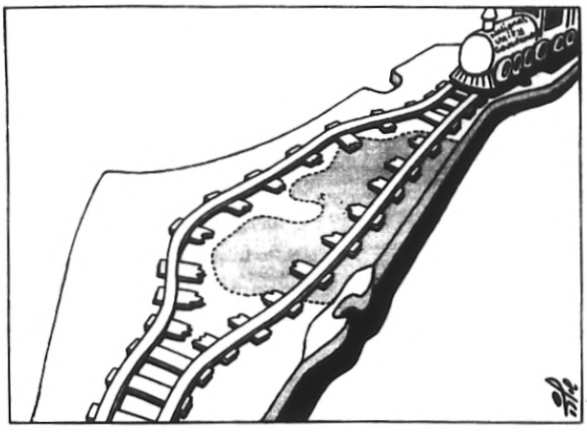




Labor Vs. Likud In War Over Peace Initiative



Israel's year-old national unity government was once again tottering on the brink of disaster at October's end. While Peres adroitly constructed a diplomatic house of cards abroad, his Likud coalition partners huffed and puffed and waxed exceedingly wroth — but stopped short of blowing his house down. (To do so would not only spell the end of the government, but the end of the rotation agreement as well.)

At the eleventh hour, the Likud beat an embarrassed retreat, leaving Peres and the Labor Party to bask in the sun of public acclaim. Not only had Peres scored a coup of sorts in the United States, he also succeeded in delivering the Likud a resounding slap in the face.

"These are invigorating times for the Labor Party," wrote *Davar* correspondent Dani Rubenstein on October 29, "the likes of which it hasn't experienced in years... A daily perusal of the press leaves no doubt: the past few weeks have truly been the high point of Prime Minister Peres' political career. His supporters are saying that they made a wise choice: he has turned out to be a successful prime minister. His opponents put it differently: he's been fantastically lucky, they say."

Nahum Barnea's October 30 editorial in *Koteret Rashit* was equally jubilant: "Shimon Peres has not only emerged from the latest government crisis with virtue on his side, he has also emerged the victor. From crisis to crisis, his public standing as an honest, serious and responsible politician — attributes sorely lacking among the Likud leadership — grows stronger and stronger."

And as Peres' star rises, the Likud's star has begun to plummet. "For the first time since the rise of Menachem Begin and the emergence of the Likud as a dominant force on the political map, the party's struggle on behalf of the 'Land of Israel' is being waged without the support it once enjoyed," wrote *HaAretz* columnist Gideon Summit on October 30.

As for the scenario Peres is trying to effect, Haggai Eshed of *Davar* is characteristically blunt: "Shimon Peres is trying to isolate the PLO and weaken it as much as possible, for the PLO is the main obstacle on the road to peace in the Middle East. That's the name of the game. The more isolated and the weaker the PLO is, the less it will be able to hamper King Hussein from carrying on negotiations with Israel — if he so desires. The more you isolate the PLO, the more you broaden Israel's scope of maneuver and its ability to go forward toward peace with security... Shimon Peres is trying to use diplomatic means to accomplish what the Lebanon war only partially accomplished at a far greater expense" (*Davar*, October 29).

But how does the Likud fit into this scheme? Most commentators seem to think it doesn't. *HaAretz's* Dan Margalit argued on October 29 that Peres is not interested in implementing the rotation agreement and wants to use contacts with King Hussein to provoke a crisis whose resolution will find the Likud in the opposition. "Over the past few days, Peres has not only shown how... the Likud can be dumped from the government, he has also made it clear to Hussein that it is a real possibility." But now, writes Margalit, the ball is in the King's court.

Aryeh Tzimuki of *Yediot Aharonot* expressed basically the same appraisal of the situation on November 1. "The key to the leadership of the government is actually in the hands of King Hussein."

How does Peres feel about the recent moves toward *rapprochement* between Syria and Jordan? According to Eyal Ehrlich, the Prime Minister's Office's evaluation of such an agreement is that it "can push the process forward on a number of planes: First of all, it could bring Syria to the negotiating table. Syrian participation... would also make for Soviet participation in an international conference and make it easier for Hussein to enter into negotiations with Israel. Syria, and not the PLO, is Hussein's greatest threat... A Syrian-Jordanian agreement would also weaken the PLO's standing, for Syria is Arafat's most serious enemy and its inclusion in a peace conference could wipe out any chance of Palestinians clearly identified with the PLO from being included in a Palestinian delegation" (*Koteret Rashit*, October 30).

Davar's Washington correspondent, Amir Oren, sketched a different yet equally "optimistic" scenario of the incipient Israeli-Jordanian peace process: "Bing Crosby will sing 'White Christmas,' the Pope will pray for 'peace on earth,' and Israelis and Jordanians-Palestinians will meet in the framework of an international forum for the opening session of a conference [marking the start of] direct negotiations during the last week of December, on the eve of Christmas" (Davar, November 1).

And we'll all live happily ever after. Or will we?

Israel Eldad, the leading figure of Israeli fascism, certainly won't. Writing in *HaAretz* on October 31, he sketched his notion of what a just and lasting peace would constitute: "There are two banks to the Jordan River. For the sake of peace, we'll compromise: self-determination for the majority. On the western side of the Jordan, there's a Jewish majority and hence, a Jewish state. On the eastern side of the Jordan, there's an Arab majority — even a Palestinian majority (if one takes Palestinianism at face value) — and hence a Palestinian state. And that's that, until the Messiah comes."

Eldad goes on to lash out at the Likud for being partners in a government willing to compromise on anything less, concluding that the Likud leadership has sold out for the sake of its rotation agreement.

But haven't all the authors quoted above jumped the gun? Yoel Marcus of *HaAretz* seems to think so. On November 1, he wrote: "I fear that too many people have been caught up in too much enthusiasm over the past few days without good reason. Shimon Peres has not made any real breakthrough. King Hussein has not yet agreed to peace talks. The Likud, even if it has suffered setbacks, has not yet ended its career in the government."

Indeed, thus far it seems fair to say that nothing has yet happened.

Israel's national humpty dumpty government has been on the verge of a fall since it was set up last year. Peres' "peace plan" is nothing more than a reiteration of the Labor Party's traditional Jordanian option. And the Likud's present political low owes much more to internal haggling than to Peres' brinkmanship. Moreover, according to the polls, Likud defectors are moving to the right.

As is the Labor Party. "Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin will be remembered as the most obstinate defense minister in regard to his attitude to the residents of the West Bank," wrote Muhammad Wattad in the November 1 issue of *Hotam*. "Scratch the surface, and it turns out that he has even gone further in certain areas than Sharon. He doesn't speak much, or make bombastic declarations, but he has lent a hand to reinstating administrative detention and expulsion... and has even spoken in the Knesset about these measures being carried out in the framework of 'improving the quality of life of the residents of the West Bank.'"

While Rabin does his bit for peace, Peres and Finance Minister Moda'i have been doing their bit for the Israeli economy. Inflation has actually been halted. But it has been halted by cutting wages by 25 percent and driving unemployment up to approximately nine percent. The agricultural sector is going bankrupt, the hospitals can't provide patients with proper medical care and poverty is on the rise.

However, the Israeli public can now escape the ugly realities of everyday life by reading the papers: peace is in the offing. Or so Peres says. ■

The Day Ibrahim Aqra'a Was Murdered

A Short Story
by Akram Haniya

That day, I woke up late and drank a cup of coffee. I listened to the news and made my way down into the street. It was a hot day and the streets were somewhat crowded. I headed toward the Jerusalem taxi stand.

That day some children in a bus belonging to a kindergarten class, shouted "Palestine is Arab." They made signs of victory as the bus passed by a border guard patrol.

A woman carrying a basket full of thyme (*Zaatar*) and sage (*Meiramieh*) was looking for a place to sell her wares. She also looked around fearing the municipal inspectors.

Another woman was heading toward the bus station where she would begin her trip to visit her son in jail.

An important money changer in Nablus notified other money changers in West Bank towns about the rise in the price of the Jordanian dinar.

A merchant on Salah ed-Din Street in Jerusalem insulted nationalists because they called for a strike at the best time of the tourist season.

A *mukhtar* in a village went to the military headquarters to meet the village liaison officer.

A young girl awoke and asked her mother about the whereabouts of her brother who sleeps in the same room. Her mother answered sadly: "They took him."

I stepped out of the taxi in the Musrara quarter. I stopped by a newspaper vender's stand where I read the headlines. I spoke with him for a few seconds and walked on. I met a young man who gave me a prepared statement about the work of his union. I put it in my pocket and walked on. Some tourists were taking pictures of souvenir shops and peasant women who sell vegetables loaded in baskets. I arrived at Salah ed-Din Street where I met a colleague who immediately said: *"Didn't you hear that a villager was killed in Bidya when settlers tried to confiscate his land?"* I stopped.

That day thousands of unemployed graduates began to search for jobs.

A taxi driver told his passengers there was a hike in the price of a fare as a result of the increase in fuel prices. When a young man protested, saying that the government's rate was lower, the driver said: "Take the government's taxi."

A voluntary work committee planned to plant seedlings on an arid mountain plain.

Two merchants decided to attend an evening party in Natanya.

Some youths looked with satisfaction and pride at 'No to occupation' graffiti they wrote on a wall the night before. They looked around for fear that their satisfactory smiles might disclose their deed.

I and my colleague went to a nearby cafe where we ordered two cups

Akram Haniya

"THAT DAY A WOMAN WAS LISTENING TO THE NEWS AT TEN ON AN AMMAN RADIO BROADCAST TO KNOW WHETHER ONE OF HER RELATIVES HAD DIED IN EXILE."

of coffee. My colleague occupied himself with reading the newspaper while my thoughts centered on Bidya and the case of the land confiscation there. *Do I know the man who was murdered this morning? Perhaps I met him once at my friend's office in Nablus. I can remember that group of villagers whom I met at the lawyer's office. The lawyer asked them, while studying some files: "Do you have tabus (Turkish land deeds)?" One of the villagers responded: "We've been living on this land before they issued tabus, his tone was serious like his face which revealed anger and agitation. The man was in his seventies. His eyes were sparkling and his hand leaned against a stick. With the other hand, he was smoking a cigarette nervously. Was it he?*

That day a video shop was opened adjacent to a money changer shop in Jerusalem.

A youth who spent 10 years in jail was released. He strongly embraced his mother waiting for him at the prison gate.

A young man collected his poems and went nervously to meet a publisher in an attempt to persuade him to publish his book.

A teacher notified his colleagues about a meeting of the teacher's union that evening.

The Israeli border guards forced back a bus carrying a *dabkeh* troupe on their way to a local university to participate in a festival there.

A woman went to the post office to send a letter to her husband in America asking him to keep sending money to the family. A student at a secondary school very cautiously took a leaflet from a colleague and went to an isolated place to read it.

Employees of one academic institution struck to protest the administration's refusal to meet their demands.

Members of a theatrical troupe began selling tickets for their new play.

An old woman went to an office to fill out a form for a visitation permit to send it to her son abroad.

Perhaps my lawyer friend told me about him when I went to his office the last time. We exchanged delicate reprimands and apologies for not contacting one another. Then we discussed other topics dealing with issues of business and marriage. He talked to me about the problems that landowners encounter in that village in the Nablus district. He also spoke with admiration of an old landowner who almost comes to his office every day to inquire about what he (the lawyer) has done and to notify him of Israeli companies' attempts to confiscate lands. Perhaps he is the same person who was murdered that morning in Bidya. I drank the rest of the coffee in my cup. I took leave of my colleague and headed towards the newspaper.

That day a woman was listening to the news at 10:00 a.m. on an Amman radio broadcast to know whether one of her relatives had died in exile.

A husband told his wife it was time to have a second child, and she blushed.

A garbage collector counted the number of beer cans he found in the garbage of one family.

A farmer arrived at his field to discover that settlers had confiscated it.

A young man, knowing that he had no future in this country, asked the driver to stop near the US Consulate.

At the newspaper the news reports came in succession. The man was murdered by the Israeli border guards while attempting to prevent the settlers' bulldozers from working. A scene from a film on land by Yusef Shahin immediately flashed through my mind. The scene shows horsemen pulling Muhammad Abu Swellam off his land, while he clings to the cotton plants. In the background, we hear a beautiful song which says: "We saturate our thirsty land with our blood."

One resident called me to say that the name of the murdered man was Ibrahim Aqra'a. I immediately asked him to send his photo and to report personal data, along with information about the case of land confiscation. When I hung up the receiver I felt embarrassed. Then, I justified it to myself by saying that the profession kills a lot of sentiment. I continued to think about Ibrahim Aqra'a. What did he think at that moment he tried to block the path of the bulldozer which was guarded by soldiers? Perhaps he realized that the bulldozer's beastly jaws were in fact cutting him into pieces. Certainly he felt that all eternity had passed and that a long bond between him and his land had been broken.

A tremendous store of memories and small and affectionate details had been destroyed. Certainly he felt that he was losing. Perhaps he did not carry a stone or a stick in his hand at the time, as he approached the bulldozers and soldiers. He went to block them with his body only.

That day a field withered in a village because of neglect.

Four student blocs signed a union agreement to participate in the student council elections as one united bloc, but they disagreed on the issue of the number of seats that each bloc would obtain.

Soldiers from an Israeli army patrol stopped a young man in the street in one of the West Bank towns and brutally beat him.

An artist painted the final touches on his new portrait and sat back to try and name it.

A young man woke up in a hotel room next to the naked body of an American tourist he slept with the previous night. He woke her and told her: "We must leave immediately."

One person told his friend that the dowry he asked for his daughter's hand was too high, and it was better to break the engagement.

[illegible]ought for help to pay the fine that was levied against his son by a military court on charges of participating in a demonstration.

A long time passed and I received no fresh news about what had happened in Bidya. The Israeli radio in all its various language broadcasts did not report sufficient details. The Nablus correspondent promised to send me a complete report that evening. He asked me to send more newspapers for distribution the next day. I picked up my pen, placed some paper in front of me and decided to write an editorial on the murder of Ibrahim Aqra'a.

That day a lecturer at a local university made an agreement with an American institute which is partially funded by the CIA to carry out research on agriculture.

A number of workers met and announced the formation of a new union.

Some residents returned from the bridge after they were prevented by the Israeli authorities from crossing it to Amman.

A group of businessmen agreed to study the commercial benefit of an industrial project before submitting details to the concerned authorities in Amman.

I wrote on the paper: "The martyr of the land." I felt that I would write an emotional and enthusiastic paragraph so I tore up the paper and threw it in the garbage. I wrote on another paper: "The day of the Murder in Bidya." I thought it would be censored. Then I decided to write the editorial and later I could write a headline.

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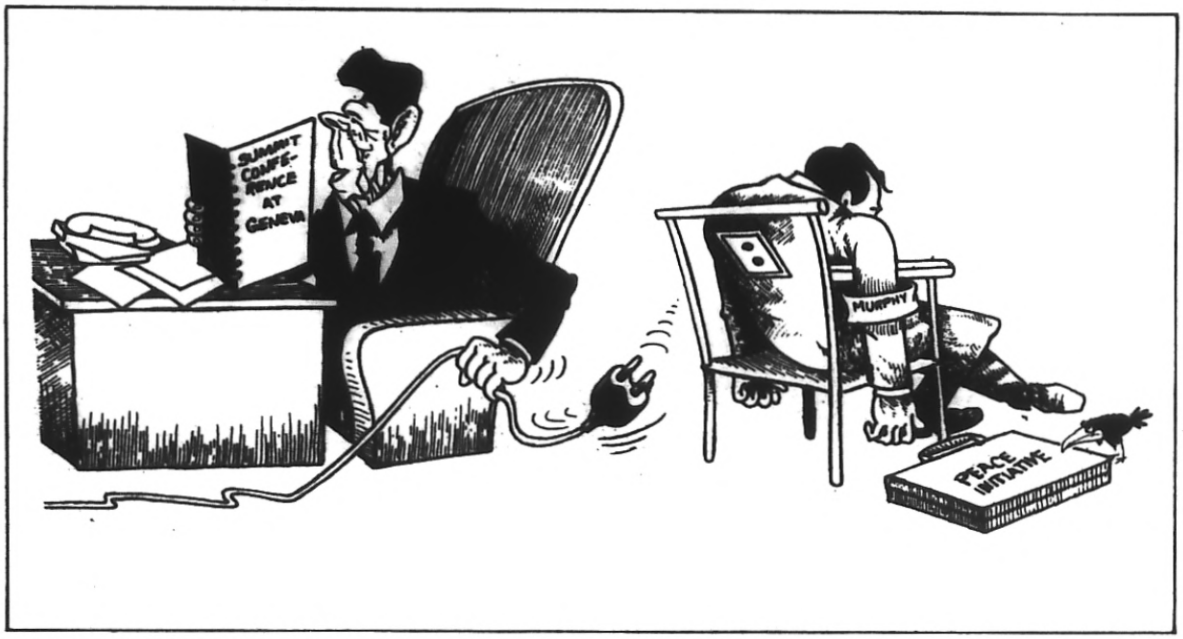


Palestinian newspapers paid attention this week to the meetings in Cairo between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. *Al Fajr*, *Al Quds* and *Al Sha'ab* termed the meeting as necessary and important for the PLO. *Al Mithaq* attacked the meeting calling on opponents to act and not merely to issue verbal protests.

A TEST FOR THE SYRIAN ATTITUDE

Arafat's clear and frank invitation to Assad to join the Amman agreement represents the real Palestinian wish to patch up the Palestinian-Syrian differences. This wish may be put into practice by establishing a common Arab political movement at this stage to face all events with a common Arab decision and will. Arafat's call came in the wake of his successful talks in Jordan where a joint permanent work committee was set up to follow up the Palestinian-Jordanian relations. This committee also seeks to broaden the scope of its activities on the Arab and international levels. If the Syrian regime is really interested in improving its relations with Jordan, Arafat's call will be a test for Syria. The joint Syrian-Jordanian position will affect the Palestinian-Jordanian position. We hope, of course, that the effect will be positive. The test lies in Syria's vision of the Amman agreement. So, will the Syrian regime respond to the call?

AL FAJR
October 31

AWAY FROM THE HEART OF THE MATTER

Observers are now focusing their attention and concern on the recriminations between the two parties to the Israeli coalition government over Peres' plan as it was presented before the UN and not as it was presented to the Knesset.

We are not going to compare the two texts. Both do not represent any advancement of the peace process. They totally ignored the main party to the conflict, the Palestinian people represented by the PLO. The controversy between the Likud and Labor casts doubt on the ability of Israel to put forward a real peace plan. What would the opposing parties have done if Peres' plan had fulfilled part of the Palestinian aspirations? It is impossible to achieve any progress as long as the Israeli political scene is equally controlled by the right and the left. If the Israeli position remains fixed, the area will witness the death of peace moves.

AL QUDS
November 1

ALGIERS-DAMASCUS TALKS

The recent events and developments in the area underline the growing danger hanging over the area in general and the Palestinian cause in particular. There are attempts to liquidate the cause in favor of hostile forces. It is natural that the nationalist and progressive forces will conduct consultations and contacts to find the best way to confront this offensive and abort it. For this reason the Damascus-Algiers talks are being conducted to clarify matters before it is too late. We believe that these talks lead to the unification of efforts and energies to effectively encounter these conspiracies and plans that are hostile to the whole Arab Nation.

AL MITHAQ
November 1

O WORLD, UNTIL WHEN ?!!

Today November 2, 1985, the Balfour Delaration was made 68 years ago in 1917. We'd like to take this opportunity to say to the world that it is not fair or appropriate to keep a people, like the Palestinian people, suffering for decades as a result of that Declaration. These people have the right to a better life for future generations. Till when will the world be indifferent? The UN has essentially been set up to put things on their right path.

AL FAJR
November 2

THE ONLY WAY

When we talk about advancing the peace process, we realize that this can be achieved through two important factors: PLO participation in any political moves; and the consent of all parties to the idea of an international conference for peace. The whole world realizes now that all obstacles stem from the American-Israeli stand which refuses to deal with these facts. Should the two countries persist in their refusal, this means that both of them are not really interested in a just and comprehensive peace.

Despite all differences in the Arab world, it declared its readiness to participate in the search for peace. This became clear after the Fez Summit. The PLO showed flexibility when it signed the Amman agreement. Jordan and Syria also declared their adherence to the Fez resolutions and the international peace conference. Now if the US and Israel want to avoid disasters in the area, they should agree to this international conference to be attended by the USSR and the PLO.

AL QUDS
November 2

NEW TURN IN EGYPTIAN-PLO RELATIONS

Arafat's visit to Cairo represents a new turn in Egyptian-PLO relations. Developments in the area make Palestinian-Egyptian relations necessary to enhance the PLO role in the peace process. The PLO has always advocated the return of Egypt to the Arab camp. In return, Egypt is always keen on supporting the PLO with its legitimate leadership to confront all separate settlements. Since the PLO faces a critical period, the Egyptian leadership is required to back up the position of the PLO. Such an Egyptian stand is also an enhancement to the Egyptian position regarding its return to the Arab camp.

AL FAJR
November 4

QUESTION WITHOUT ANSWER

The gist of the current political efforts may be said to center around the PLO's role in the coming peace negotiations. The US and Israel want to reduce that role, while the Arab side sees the opposite, despite the recent events and setbacks. Arafat's visit to Cairo comes in this context. Egypt itself was adversely affected by the events of last month. Surely, the Egyptian and Jordanian attitudes toward the Palestinian cause and the PLO are the solid basis for any peaceful effort. President Mubarak expresed the position of his country when he wondered why the US and Israel do not take advantage of the PLO's peaceful leanings, especially when the alternative to the PLO — should there be one — will certainly work in the opposite direction. The question is: with whom do the US and Israel want to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians? Are there any individuals or organizations or states that would challenge the world consensus that the PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people? The answer to this question by Israel and the US constitutes the first real step toward peace.

AL QUDS
November 5

Deportation

Continued from page 1

'incitement' against the occupation. Shuaibi said he calls for the Palestinian right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. Dr. Shuaibi suffers from tuberculosis which he contracted while in previous detentions.

The hearing was held at Jnaid Prison, near Nablus, in spite of objections by the families of detainees that the hearing room was too small to accommodate them. The four men were defended by a committee of lawyers made up of Ali Ghuzlan, Muhammad Na'amneh, Jawad Boulus, Felicia Langer, Lea Tsemel, Walid Fahoum, Abed Assali, Adnan Shuaibi, Shaher Arouri, Abdallah Ghuzlan, Ahmad Nazzal and Osama Odeh.

Meanwhile, two European lawyers arrived in Jerusalem last week to attend the court hearing of appeals by the four Palestinian men. Pierre Toffel, who was sent by the Swiss Association of Democratic Jurists, of which he is a member, said he had been following the cases of deportations. He said that with the four new cases, deportation is becoming a policy, and not an individual punishment.

Toffel told *Al Fajr* that, in his opinion, deportation is clearly against international law. "Even in the Nuremberg court, deportation was considered a war crime," he said. Toffel also said that he would try to give a legal opinion before the court from the point of view of international law.

Marie-France Schmidlin, a French lawyer who came on her own initiative, said that deportation was outlawed by the European Convention on Human Rights of 1950. Article 3 of protocol 4 of the convention states that nobody can be expelled either collectively or individually from the territory of the state from which he or she comes. She told *Al Fajr* that the European Convention on Human Rights is considered the minimum standard of every civilized nation. "It is impossible to understand or accept any violation of these rules," she said.

While the Israeli legislator was deliberating the fate of the four men, the rest of the West Bank and Gaza were busy protesting the intended deportations. More than 40 women took part in a demonstration in al-Bireh November 2. The women began their demonstration against the deportation orders at Jamal Abd al-Nasser Mosque and started toward the city center when heavily armed Israeli soldiers intervened to forcibly break up the demonstration. Israel Televison said about 30 women were arrested.

Last week, university students at Bir Zeit and Bethlehem held campus protests against the deportations. Israeli army units used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators. Bethlehem University reported that 20 of its students had to be hospitalized for inhaling the gas. Army roadblocks were set up on roads leading to both universities preventing students from reaching them. The town of Bir Zeit, where the university is located, was declared a closed military area November 2 which means only town residents were able to enter it.

On the international level, messages of protest against the deportation orders reached the office of the Israeli minister of defense. The protest messages came from international figures including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an American presidential contender in the 1984 elections; the Romanian foreign minister; the all-Greece Socialist Movement; the Greek ruling party and Greek parliamentarians, the World Jewish Federation for Peace in the US state of Colorado; Robert Bern, vice president of the Peace Council in the US; John Conniar, a Louisiana State congressman; and the Interational Federation of Democratic Lawyers at the United Nations. Protest was also voiced by the Joint Work Committee in Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Federation of Labor Unions and the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

EL-HAKAWATI CLOSED FOR ONE DAY

The Israeli military commander of the central district, Amnon Shahak, issued an order closing the East Jerusalem Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater for 24 hours beginning at 1:00 p.m. November 7. The order said the closure was due to "the expected convening of a meeting for hostile organizations."

This is the third such order received by the Palestinian theater.

Ibrahim Aqra'a

Continued from page 11

The face of Ibrahim Aqra'a emerged in front of my eyes as I imagined it. I felt that surely the ink had changed color to red and that his blood was covering the paper. I tried several times to write one complete sentence but all my efforts were in vain. The pen betrayed me. I threw it away and getting up made my way out of the newspaper.

That day a child uttered a first word and his mother's face showed happiness.

A woman finished embroidering a new dress and proudly showed it to her neighbors.

A young man expressed love to his darling and a rose blossomed in a flowerpot belonging to young couple.

A girl student held her schoolbag tightly which contained a flag she had embroidered the night before in order to hang it up during a festival at school.

A woman gently told her husband that in a few months they would have a new baby.

A university student started his field work on research on popular proverbs in a village.

A detainee endured the pain of torture but did not confess.

Ibrahim Aqra'a was murdered and I failed to write an editorial.

A child threw a stone at an Israeli military vehicle. He turned around and disappeared in the camp alleyways.

This story is taken from a short story collection titled "When I Light the Jerusalem Night" by Akram Haniya. It will be published by Pisan Press in Cyprus.

Akram Haniya is a journalist and former head of the Arab Journalists Association. He is also editor-in-chief of Al Sha'ab *newspaper.*

Ibrahim Aqra'a was killed on April 2, 1983 by settlers in his attempt to prevent them from destroying his olive trees.

Israel TV

Continued from page 16

the news bulletin as it informs them of local Palestinian affairs. "We are told to keep them in mind when we report the news as well. Never should we let them think that they have a chance to return to the occupied territories," said the station source. This is done by emphasizing the harsh conditions the local Palestinians are living under. This can also work well for the local population, who when repeatedly told that they live in misery might want to look for an alternative life somewhere else. Once Ariel Sharon warned the Labor government that Palestinians are feeling too comfortable and that their hopes have risen to a dangerous level. "We can't afford to have them feel that way," he reportedly said.

Usually, a news report that brings out the worries and the feeling of helplessness threatening to overcome the local population is concluded by a statement of the Israeli military governor of an area or an Israeli minister who declares that he or his department will look into the problem and attempt to find a solution to it. The oppressor thus becomes the savior. It is not uncommon to broadcast a news segment where an Arab rushes to an Israeli minister touring the area and complains to him about a certain problem. The minister then reassures the man that he "will study the matter and do his best to solve the problem in the framework of peace between Jews and the residents of the administered area." To a simple-minded individual this might sound encouraging, but to those who read between the lines, the official hand behind the propaganda is easy to see.

"Internal quarreling in the West Bank is a hot item in the news department," said another station employee. It is obviously to Israel's best interest that Arabs are and remain divided. The best way at fueling such fires of division is to broadcast them on televison. When Israeli policy makers created the infamous Village Leagues, the West Bank community was in disarray. Not only did Israel TV give much air time to the League but also to their opponents, both of whom lashed out at each other creating a sense of approaching civil war.

Palestinians — whether Village League or operating under some other motivation — who indicate readiness to criticize or insult a Palestinian group or faction are given coverage on Israel TV. In the last few months, one such Palestinian is ex-Najah professor Suleiman Bashir. Bashir, who was dismissed from the university after he published a book denying much of Muslim Arab history, openly criticized the university and Palestinian higher education on TV. Now he regularly appears on the Arabic TV program. Another example is that of Afou Faour, head of the local council of Sha'ab, a village in the Galilee. Whenever there is a report of Arab local council protest over some Israeli action like land confiscation the TV broadcasts an interview with Faour, who is often quoted as opposing the protest action and favoring the government's step.

"Criticism of the Israeli army by Arabs or Jews is totally prohibited," said the station source. In the autumn of 1982 several Israeli theaters staged a play which depicted soldiers on occupation duty in the Gaza Strip attacking an Arab with sticks and harassing a young girl. An Israeli televison crew filmed a report on it. The then IBA director, Tommy Lapid, banned it on the ground that it portrayed Israeli soldiers behaving like "Nazi stormtroopers". The film crew protested arguing that the play had merely reflected a 'known social phenomenon'. They gathered the support of several production workers and enforced a three-minute blackout of the news program in protest against the ban. The IBA warned them against any further action and threatened to have them all replaced. They were told that the IBA chief is the "chief editor" and policy maker of television. A compromise was finally reached and the report on the play was modified to a program merely dealing with cultural affairs.

Palestinians in the West Bank who speak out in favor of the PLO are off limits. Bassam Shaka'a, the elected-then-dismissed mayor of Nablus, was interviewed by a televison crew after the Israeli government ordered his expulsion from the West Bank on charges of incitement, an order which was eventually rescinded. The IBA refused to broadcast the report on the grounds that it was inflammatory. It also further obliged reporters to obtain permission before interviewing West Bank personalities following the interview with Shaka'a. This resulted in reporters interviewing second-rate individuals and those with a vested interest in the Israeli occupation.

Not that all those who appear on Israel TV or work for it support the occupation. They merely seek ways to justify their connections with the television station. One Arab TV employee told *Al Fajr*: "I have no guilt feelings over working at Israel TV. It is like people who work at building settlements or in Israeli factories. Plus if I quit my job, someone else will take it over. I have to make a living you know."

Several years ago, an Israeli minister of education told a gathering of Israeli school teachers, "It is important that our youth should know that when we returned there, we did not find any other nation here and certainly no nation which had lived here for hundreds of years." Such statements reflect the purpose of the Arabic language program to deny Palestinians their national heritage as a people. Despite their obviously questionable reports, Israel TV and Radio are still the major source of information for the local Arab media because of the strict Israeli censorship imposed on it.

Even the Arab countries surrounding often use Israel Television as a 'reliable' news source, despite intended distortion on the part of the TV reports at times.

An *Al Fajr* journalist, as many local Palestinians, has proof of such TV distortion and even outright fabrication through personal experience. The journalist was arrested in May 1984 in Ramallah on the West Bank following a mysterious fire at Bir Zeit University. The fire, commonly believed to have been set by Israeli settlers, destroyed a book exhibit and injured several persons. The journalist was at the scene and gave a full report to *Al Fajr* English. However after her arrest on the way back from Bir Zeit, she was pointedly told by senior military officers including the Ramallah military governor that there had been no fire. Instead, they told her there had been a fight between hundreds of pro and anti-Arafat Palestinians, and that the 30 some injuries had resulted from that. Not only was the 'fight story' broadcast that night on Israel TV, but it was picked up by the Jordanian TV station and broadcast in Amman. Only later did Amman learn the truth about the fire and correct its earlier report.

Despite the dangers inherent in Israel TV's Arabic broadcast, Palestinians in the occupied territories have little alternative if they wish to be 'informed'. If and when there are drastic changes in the approach of the Arab news media to local and regional events, then Palestinians will be able to better arm themselves against Israeli propaganda by tuning in nightly to a news bulletin that more resembles the whole picture.

"Propaganda in my opinion operates on many false assumptions: half truths, limited truths and truths out of context. It does more than change opinions; it leads more to action. One cannot deny the powerful conditioning of the media on behavior and thought," wrote Jacques Ellul in his book *Propaganda*. Rouhana agrees with Ellul and says that though it is necessary to monitor Israel Television for local news, Palestinians should remain aware of the distortions. In fact, Rouhana says that many Palestinians who speak Hebrew totally ignore the Arabic language news and listen only to the later Hebrew news bulletin. Major events on the West Bank are highlighted, he said, in Hebrew while on the Arabic program they are discreetly inserted in the middle of the bulletin and often downplayed. ■

October 30, 1985

EXPLOSION IN JERUSALEM

A small bomb placed in a rubbish bin near the Jerusalem city hall exploded, causing little damage, police reported. No other details were given.

GAZA *IMAM* HELD

The *Imam* (preacher) of the Bani Suheila Mosque in the Gaza Strip, Muhammad Abu Jam'e, was jailed for 6 months under administrative detention orders. He will be brought to court for presenting the charges against him.

EX-PRISONER ARRESTED

A security prisoner released in the May 20 prisoner swap between Israel and Ahmad Jibril's PFLP-GC was rearrested by security forces. Lu'ai Abdo, of Nablus, will be held for 6 months under administrative detention orders.

2 GAZANS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Hatem Musa al-Karnawi, 20, of Breij refugee camp to 4 years in prison and 1 year suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organization and illegal possession of a pistol.

October 31, 1985

RESIDENT ARRESTED

Israel Radio reported that 20-year-old Nablus resident, Ayesh an-Najjar, was arrested on suspicion of preparing an explosive charge.

FOUR NEW REPRESENTATIVES TO BE ELECTED

Four new representatives are expected to be elected to the Jordanian parliament by the middle of this month. The four are to replace the dead representatives Abd ar-Raouf al-Faris, Sharif al-Qubbajd, Isa Aqil and Sudqi al-Ja'bari.

THREE ARMED MEN ASSAULT RESIDENT

Israel Radio reported that three armed masked men attacked a Shu'fat resident and stole his car. They fired shots in the air. The victim was taken to Hadassah hospital for treatment.

November 1, 1985

UNIONIST UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS

Israeli military authorities detained Ramallah unionist Bashir al-Sheikh, treasurer of the General Union for Health and Medical Services in the West Bank. He was detained for 6 months under administrative detention orders dating back to the Emergency Regulations of the 1945 British mandate in Palestine.

APPEALS TURNED DOWN

The Israeli military objections committee rejected appeals by 4 Palestinian residents against their detention for 6 months under administrative detention orders. The four are: Sami Atayya Abu Samhadaneh, Ziad Sha'ath, Mahmoud Abu Madkour and Tawfik Abu Khosa.

STUDENTS BANNED FROM CAMPUS

Students from Bethlehem University were stopped at army checkpoints at entrances to Bethlehem University and banned from entering campus. The university has been the scene of protests and demonstrations against the military authorities' decision to deport 4 West Bank and Gaza residents.

HABLA YOUTH SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Muhammad Abd al-Razek Udeh of Habla village to 2 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of throwing a petrol bomb at a home of a suspected collaborator and failing to report a youth who threw a petrol bomb at an Israeli bus.

November 3, 1985

AN EXPLOSIVE CHARGE IN JERUSALEM

Israel Radio reported that a small explosive charge went off at a bus stop near the French Hill on Shu'fat road. No injuries were reported. The police are searching the area. Two persons were arrested.

EXPLOSION IN AFULA

An explosive charge went off near a secondary school in Afula at noon, Israel Radio reported. Fifty Arabs were arrested after the incident. Most of the detainees are Nablus residents who came to Afula seeking work. The police increased patrols in the city.

SHOP SET ON FIRE

Unknown persons poured petrol and set fire to the shop of a released prisoner in Nablus. The owner is Mu'ayyad al-Habash.

OLD MAN MURDERED IN RAMALLAH

The body of 80-year-old Husni Khamis az-Zayn was discovered in his room in Ramallah with many stab wounds. The murderers had handcuffed the old man before killing him. His room was also searched.

KHAN YUNIS YOUTH CLUB REOPENED

The military government authorities in Khan Yunis notified the municipal council of approval to reopen the youth club shut 3 months ago.

RESIDENTS JAILED

The Lydda military court sentenced 32-year-old Isma'il Qasim al-Bukhari, of at-Tur, to 10 months in prison for security charges. The court also sentenced Faris Hijazi, Ma'rouf Robin and Hazim al-Hanini to 2 years in prison and 2 years suspended each. They are charged with membership in a Palestinian organization.

November 4, 1985

16 GAZA WOMEN GO ON TRIAL

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced 16 Arab women from the Gaza Strip to suspended sentences ranging from 6 to 9 months and fines of up to IS700,000. The women were charged with demonstrating without a permit against military orders to deport four residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

COURT REJECTS REQUEST TO FREE WOMAN

An Israeli military court in Ramallah turned down a request to release Mariam Mahmoud al-Rajoub, of Dura, on bail. Mariam, who is charged with security offenses, has been in prison for more than 1 month. The court decided to extend her detention.

Bone Surgery at Bethlehem Hospital Successful

A 23-year-old Lebanese woman left Bethlehem's Jabal Daoud Orthopedic Hospital last week after recuperating from successful surgery to straighten her severely bowed legs. The operation, performed by a team of Palestinian surgeons, was her third.

Local surgeons performed what is considered to be one of the most difficult operations in the hospital's history on Youlanda Mhanna Abu Rafe'.

Abu Rafe' was admitted to the hospital last February 20. She had been suffering from severely deformed legs since early childhood. On February 22, a staff of hospital surgeons led by Dr. Ahmad Zuaiter, director of the hospital, performed the first part of the operation to correct her right leg. The operation was successful and the right leg was straightened.

The second operation to straighten the left leg was performed July 29 after Abu Rafe' recuperated from the first operation. The second was also successful and both legs were straightened.

According to Dr. Zuaiter, Abu Rafe' had two previous operations on her legs — one in Venezuela and the other at the American University Hospital in Beirut. Neither was successful. Abu Rafe' then heard about Jabal Daoud Hospital which led her to decide to give it a try. The surgery at Jabal Daoud which required great skill gave the Lebanese patient seven extra centimeters in height.

November 5, 1985

YOUTHS SENTENCED

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced three youths from al-Mukhaber, Jerusalem, to 15 years in prison for membership in a Palestinian organization and weapons training. The three are: Mahmoud Ali Atiya Uwaisat, 25; Jamal Ali Atiya Uwaisat, 23; and Nasser Muhammad Ali Atiya Uwaisat, 21.

The court also sentenced Isma'il Qasim al-Bakhari, a resident of Tur, to 10 months in prison and 3 years suspended. He was also accused of security offenses and membership.

ISRAELI CAR UNDER FIRE

An Israeli military spokesman announced that an Israeli taxi came under automatic gun fire near Jericho while travelling from Jerusalem to Beisan. No injuries or damages were reported.

HEBRON LAND GRABBED

Hebron's military governor notified the *mukhtars* of Arab al-Ramadin near Dhahiriya of the decision to confiscate a 15,000-dunum plot extending from Arab al-Ramadin to Wadi al-Khalil.

The land was surveyed last week by Israeli surveyors. Landowners intend to fight against the decision in court.

Calendar of Events

Readers are invited to advertise events free of charge: Wednesdays are the deadline for publication in the next issue.

November 8, 9

Theater: Sanabel Theater group comes back to the theater with their new play, *General Sir!* In Arabic. At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater, Jerusalem. 5:30 p.m. Telephone: 280957, 288189.

November 9

Music: Organ recital by Prof. Rose Kirn, Hamburg. Second part of the "Organ Mass" by J.S. Bach. At the Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem. 8:30 p.m. Telephone: 719927.

November 11

Lecture: Abe Hertzberger will give a lecture entitled "Struggle in the Third World," at the Center for Palestinian Non-Violence, on the third floor of the Nuzha Cinema Building, Jerusalem. 6:00 p.m. Telephone: 285061.

November 14, 15

Theater: *A Chosen Neighborhood.* The Jerusalem Al-Jawwal group once again presents this play at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theater, Jerusalem. 5:30 p.m.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

November 30

Special Day: The French NGO Coordinating Committee will sponsor a special day at the Mutualite Center in Paris, entitled "Problems facing young Palestinians." Between 2-8 p.m.

EVENTS IN THE US

November 10 — December 15

Music: Marcel Khalife and Al-Mayadeen will be doing a concert tour of the United States and Canada. All proceeds will go toward supplies and materials for hospitals and health facilities in south Lebanon, as well as

toward rebuilding Palestinian refugee camps. The scheduled US dates are as follows: Nov. 10 — Chicago, Nov. 16 — Detroit, Nov. 17 — Cleveland, Nov. 23 — Austin, Tx., Nov. 24 — Houston, Tx., Nov. 29 — San Diego, Ca., Nov. 30 — Los Angeles, Ca., Dec. 1 — San Franciso, Ca., Dec. 6 — Portland, Oregon, Dec. 8 — Denver, Colorado, Dec. 13 — Washington, D.C., Dec. 14 — Boston, Dec. 15 — New York City.

November 10 — December 15

Lecture Series: The Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University, presents a fall 1985 series of lectures, "Aspects of Islam," at the Church of St. Luke's in the Fields in New York.

November 18

Discussion: Dov Zakin, former member of the Israeli Knesset will present a noon discussion, "The Israeli-Arab Conflict and the Status of Jerusalem," at the Smithsonian Institution Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

Film: *The Cruel Sea*, a film classic set in Kuwait detailing the life of pearl divers, will be shown at the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies in New York.

November 23-26

Annual Meeting: The 19th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in New Orleans, Louisiana, will be held jointly with the African Studies Association. About 200 MESA panels with three to five speakers each covers the gamut of Middle East topics: social, political, military, cultural, agricultural and development in the four day discussion.

PLO Unity

Continued from page 6

of failure at the political-diplomatic level. Should flexibility at the political level lead to unacceptable compromise of Palestinian national rights, the extremists could always argue that they had never consented to such compromises.

To attempt to limit the PLO to total consensus is self-defeating and counter-productive to Palestinian interests. All avenues should be explored to find a meaningful formula for both trends to coexist within the PLO. Dialogue should always aim at finding agreed goals, but not tactics. The accepted strategic goal then should become the "Red Line" that no faction should cross. Means and tactics, on the other hand, need not have a consensus. Let each faction determine its own means so long as there is agreement on the strategic goal. This will provide the PLO with the flexibility of movement at both the political and military levels.

Other revolutionary movements have, in the past, operated in accordance with the above premises rather than on consensus. The Algerian revolution, for example, had its own extremists and moderates. Farhat Abbas ran a political office and a government-in-exile, while Ben Bella and Boumedienne ran an effective armed struggle. Their agreement on the strategic goal of liberation and the use of both diplomatic and armed tactics led to their eventual success. Consensus was never a guiding principle of the Algerian revolution.

Current developments within the PLO are dangerous in that they threaten the organization with the loss of legitimacy, its achievements and even its very existence. The PLO cannot afford the luxury of official divisions and splits. Palestinian factions should observe a code of conduct compatible with the rules and regulations of the PLO, but the PLO must continue to provide the forum for a continuous dialogue. This dialogue should aim at achieving an acceptable framework for the strategic objectives of the Palestinians. Differences should not lead to divisions. Each group needs to struggle in accordance with its own capabilities, means and beliefs. The most important thing is that no group crosses the agreed Red Line. This Red Line represents the accepted strategic goal of the Palestinians.

This article was excerpted from Middle East International, *August 9.*

Ali Jarbawi is assistant professor of political science at Bir Zeit University.

Dr. Jamal R. Nassar is associate professor of political science at Illinois State University. ■

UN

Continued from page 8&9

The first such major recognition by the UN General Assembly came on December 10, 1969. Resolution 2535B(XXIV) — by a vote of 47 in favor, 22 against and 47 abstaining — recognized "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine" as granted in the UN Charter.

The resolution said that the General Assembly:

"Recognizing that the problem of Palestine Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

"Gravely concerned that the denial of their rights has been aggravated by the reported acts of collective punishment, arbitrary detention, curfews, destruction of houses and property, deportation and other repressive acts against the refugees and other inhabitants of the occupied territories;...

"Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine."

The Arab and Islamic non-Arab countries voted for this resolution. So did Eastern bloc countries and other Asian and African states. Israel, the US, Canada and a number of African and Latin American countries voted against it. Those who abstained included most of West Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and some Latin American states.

A year later the UN clarified its position further on Palestinian rights when it called for the Palestinian right to self-determination. Resolution 2672C(XXV) of December 8, 1970, said the United Nations General Assembly "recognizes that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; Declares that full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

Forty-seven countries voted in favor, 22 opposed and 50 abstained. The countries which opposed it were: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Rwanda, United States, Uruguay.

Recognition of Palestinian rights was reiterated again and again in assembly resolutions. In 1973, the General Assembly passed a resolution on decolonization of Africa but referred to the Palestinian struggle as well. This resolution, number 3070(XXVIII) of November 30, 1973, defended the right of all people under occupation to use all means to liberate themselves "including armed struggle." With 97 votes in favor, 5 opposed and 28 abstentions, the General Assembly clearly stated that it "reaffirms the inalienable right of all people under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation to self-determination, freedom and independence... Also reaffirms the legitimacy of the people's struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle; Condemns all governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples, notably the people of Africa still under colonial domination and the Palestinian people."

The next year, 1974, was a year of victory for the PLO and the Palestinian people in general when the UN General Assembly passed three more resolutions, all recognizing and confirming the rights of the Palestinian people. In addition to these three resolutions, the assembly included the issue of the Palestine question as a separate item on its agenda giving it special status.

The first resolution was passed on October 14, 1974. In this resolution number 3210(XXIX), the General Assembly said it "invites the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meeting." The recognition of the PLO was supported by 105 countries, and opposed by only four - Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Israel and the US. Twenty states abstained.

A direct result of this resolution was an invitation for PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to speak from its podium. On November 13, Arafat spoke to the General Assembly. He was the first — excluding Pope Paul's speech to the assembly in 1965 — person not representative of a state to address the assembly.

More than a week later, on November 22, the assembly passed two simultaneous resolutions, nos. 3236(XXIX) and 3237(XXIX), giving full recognition to the Palestinian rights and granting the PLO the status of permanent observer at the General Assembly and other UN sponsored international meetings. The PLO, thus, became the first organization to receive this privilege at the UN. Resolution 3236 received 87 supporting votes and eight opposing - Bolovia, Chile, Costa Rica, Iceland, Israel, Nicaragua, Norway and the US. Thirty-seven abstained. Resolution 3237 won 95 votes, lost 17 and saw 19 abstain.

All General Assembly resolutions after 1974 reiterated what was previously said on the "inalienable rights of the Palestinian people." The resolutions regularly called for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their prompt return of the refugees to their homes.

In 1975, however, another assembly resolution added an extra point of victory to Palestinian efforts at the UN. This was the famous resolution which equated Zionism with racism. On November 10, 1975, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 3379(XXX) condemning Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination." Part of the resolution said: "The General Assembly, ... recalling ... that in its Resolution 3151G(XXVIII) of December 14, 1973, the General Assembly condemned ... the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism; ... taking note also of Resolution 77(XII) ... (of) the Organization of African Unity ... which considered that the racist regimes in occupied Palestine and ... in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa have a common imperialist origin ... and taking note of the political declaration ... (of) the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in Lima ... which most severely condemned Zionism as a threat to world peace ..., determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

Voting against this resolution were: Australia, Austria, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, the Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, West Germany, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Ivory Cost, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America and Uruguay, totalling 35 states. In contrast, 72 countries voted in favor and 32 abstained.

On that same date, the assembly adopted another resolution by 93 votes to 18 with 27 abstaining, which approved the creation of a 20-nation committee to study how to grant the Palestinians their inalienable right to self-determination as a nation and a return of the refugees to property usurped from them since 1948.

The Jewish state has been alone since its admission to the UN General Assembly in 1950 in expressing strong opposition to any resolution which called for the return of the refugees to their homes and recognizing the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. The decade of the 1970s witnessed particularly critical resolutions of Israel. This trend continued in the first half of this decade until this year at the 40th anniversary of the UN when, under pressure of a US withdrawal from the assembly if it was to continue its attack on Israel, the assembly toned down its stance on Israel.

Pressure on the assembly was evident when US President Ronald Reagan warned that he would not attend the UN celebration if Yasser Arafat was invited to speak. Some of the assembly members were thinking of inviting Arafat to join in the UN celebrations. The assembly yielded, however, to American pressure, reminiscent of the early years of its creation when the US was the sole power able to change the outcome of any resolution before an official vote.

After 40 years of work during which membership in the the assembly soared from less than 50 to more than 150, the assembly seems to be back to where it started — the object of manipulation by one major power which contributes 25 percent of its annual budget. Regardless of its near united stand on the Palestinian question, the UN resolutions in the 40 years to come will be as ineffective as they have been in the past unless this major power — the US — learns to listen to fellow nations instead of merely dictate.

As the UN celebrates its 40th anniversary, the words of the Lebanese delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1947 when it came time for the critical moment of voting on Resolution 181(II) come to mind. Referring to US pressure on member states to change their votes from opposing the partition plan favoring it and following days of discussion in which it looked as if the resolution would not get the two-thirds votes needed to pass, the Lebanese delegate addressed the assembly saying: "My friends, think of these democratic methods, of the freedom in voting which is sacred to each of our delegations. If we were to abandon this for the tyrannical system of tackling each delegation in hotel, in bed, in corridors and anterooms, to threaten them with economic sanctions or to bribe them with promises in order to compel them to vote one way or another, think of what our organization would become in the future." ■

Israel TV: The Electronic Face of Occupation

by Baher Ashhab

"Even if modern democracies use psychological manipulation instead of totalitarianism's direct and violent forms of social control, the results are not necessarily less effective. Here those who wish to control opinions and beliefs turn less to physical force than to mass persuasion in the form of news, views and entertainment.

"Never before have such pervasive and ubiquitos means of communication existed; never before has public opinion been so completely at the mercy of whoever may control the instrument." (Theodore Peterson, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*).

It is just past sunset in this once holy land turned occupied territory. Traffic on the dusty narrow roads comes to a virtual standstill, as shoppers rush home and businesses close. Tenement-like apartment buildings appear tempted to melt into the dark alleys yet are held back only by dim lights eminating from people's living rooms.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian eyes are wide open in reverence, glued to the space leading directly to the television screen — a talking machine created out of modern man's need for escape and peace of mind. A tiny red light on either side of the screen indicates Channel I, to which the masses are listening.

A clock appears on the screen. It is 40 seconds to 7:30 and counting. The loud and threatening tick of the clock sounds not unlike the voice of a therapist ordering the viewers' minds to relax and their subconsciouses to expose themselves.

An animation of the planet earth appears just as the clock strikes 7:30. It rotates with dazzling speed and with it rotate the hundreds of thousands of eyes, all trying to pinpoint the triangular strip of land they call home. Just before they are able to locate it, a man with a dubious smile stares into the empty space and declares in fluent Arabic "Good evening to you, ladies and gentlemen. This is the nightly news bulletin presented to you by Israel Television this night of..."

Day after day, Palestinians in the occupied territories are exposed to terror and oppression, and night after night, they are brainwashed and exposed to the distortion of the reality of their oppression by Israel TV. Ever since its creation in 1968 — a few months after occupation and two years before the Israelis themselves had a TV channel — Israel TV has lied and incited, suppressed and confused, advocated certain beliefs and ignored others, but somehow managed to become the most watched source of news and information for the two million or so Palestinians in the occupied territories and Israel.

"Unlike all other television stations received in this area, Israel Television appeals to those who have an honest desire to be informed," says an-Najah professor of psychology, Nadim Rouhana. "Knowing that Palestinians crave facts and cherish nothing so much as the illusion of being well-informed, Israel TV avoids using high-sounding slogans, rhetorical arguments or biased glorification of people and situations. It sticks to the 'facts'. Propaganda thus emerges as information".

Jordan, Syria and Egypt all have television channels that are received here. They offer a variety of programs. The least attentively watched, however, are their news bulletins. "They still use the long-abandoned style of reporting which people have grown most resentful and suspicious of," says Rouhana. This style which involves appealing to higher destiny, calling for heroism and sacrifice, or reminding people of a glorious past has often backfired and created a sense of mistrust in the Arab propagandist, he argues.

Israel TV and The Zionist Cause

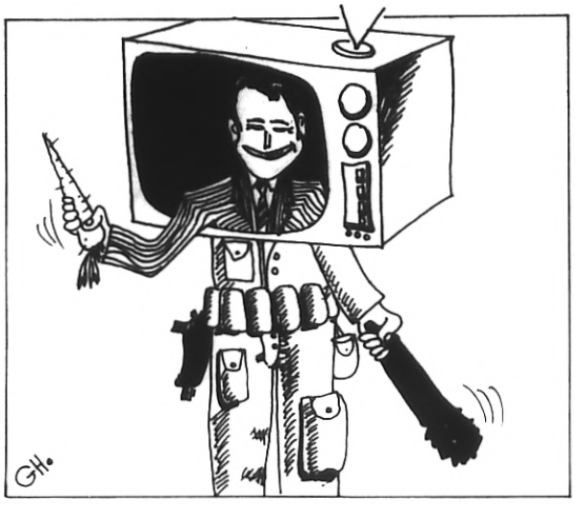
"Israel Television is an official institution which exists to serve the governing bureaucracy and the 'Zionist cause'." Israel TV senior staffer Rafik Halabi was speaking in an interview with *Al Ittihad* newspaper several weeks ago. The governing bureaucracy and Zionist cause which Halabi referred to are based on the existence of an all-Jewish state. To serve such cause must then logically imply that one is working toward the annihilation of Palestinian existence in that state physically, or at least for the time being, culturally, religiously and socially. How then does Israel TV go about reaching such an objective? What messages has it been conveying to the two million Palestinians since 1968?

"Israel TV was first created for two purposes. One is to counter Arab propaganda, and the second is to create an atmosphere of tolerance to military occupation," said an *Al Fajr* source in the station who asked not to be identified. It began with a two-hour program of news and news analysis. Two years later with the introduction of the Hebrew language program, the Arabic offering was shortened to one hour and a half and included a variety of programs dealing with education, family planning, agriculture and others. Its news bulletin took up one-third of the broadcast, except on Sundays when the news bulletin was one full hour.

Israel Television as a whole is under the direct supervision of the Israel Broadcast Authority whose head is a political appointee enjoying the powers of a deputy minister. He is usually a party faithful. Ori Porat was employed by Yitzhak Shamir and remains in power today because of the Labor-Likud coalition agreement. He was a personal friend and advisor to Menachem Begin and a known Likud hardliner.

Yosef Bar-El who heads the Arabic language program is known to be a Labor sympathizer but is also on good terms with the right-wingers "because he simply does what he is told regardless of who is in power," said a station source. Like most staffers in the Arabic section, Bar-El is an ex-Egyptian citizen. Having spent his first 30 years in Egypt before moving to Israel, he was a good candidate to speak to the Arabs in their own language and from their own culture. Bar-El directed Israel Radio for several years before being transferred to television. He was first TV news editor and commentator, then rose to head both the Arabic and Hebrew sections. He currently heads only the Arabic program.

When asked for permission for *Al Fajr* to visit the station and to interview staff, the IBA refused. *Al Fajr* was told that the order banning any staff interview with the paper came directly from Porat himself. It is perhaps even more telling of Israel TV and the IBA intentions that almost immediately inside the station gate, one finds a sign which reads: "No journalists allowed."



In the last 10 years or so Israel Television began employing local Palestinians. It now has over 15 from most sections of the Palestinian community — West Bank, Gaza, and some from within the 'green line'. Some are Muslim, some Christian and some Druze. "It is as if they wanted to make sure all Palestinians will receive their message, each group in their own words," said one employee.

"Once an Israel Television crew came to our village and showed interest in doing a story about a youth club that we had established," said Radi Shehadeh, a Palestinian from al-Magar village in the Galilee and a leading member of El-Hakawati theater troupe. "We agreed but only if they taped and broadcast what we had to say about Israeli discrimination against us and our community. They agreed. Their broadcast, however, made us sound like we were loyal subjects of the Zionist state and that we advocated total assimilation of the Palestinian Druze community into the 'Jewish state'. When a club member contacted one of the TV crews he was told that the crew had to present what the policy makers in the establishment ordered them to," he said.

Psychological Warfare

"It would not be surprising if the majority of Palestinians who watch television do not notice the psychological tricks that Israel TV is playing on them," argues Rouhana. He pointed out, as an example, the nightly weather report that concludes the news bulletin. "In the Arabic language program, the celcius degrees for each area appear on a background of settlements and highrises. On the Hebrew program they appear against a backdrop of green fields and barren hills," he said. The weather report for Jerusalem and the area surrounding is entitled "Yerushalym and Yehuda," printed in Arabic against backdrops of the Gilo settlement near Bethlehem. "This is a clear case of conditioning so that Palestinian residents will slowly identify Jerusalem with Jewish settlements and even with the name Yerushalym. With time they may not resent the settlements nor the change of name at all," he said. In contrast, said Rouhana, the Israelis are told that Jerusalem and the West Bank are merely empty fields and hills ready for 'redemption' and settlement.

Israel TV has a way of using language to influence the Palestinian viewers. Only on Israel Television have Palestinian commandos become "Mukharibin," or those who cause destruction. Israel TV also popularized the terms "Judea and Samaria," the Zionist designation for the West Bank. And only those Palestinians who appear on Israel TV feel no shame when they tell the rest of the population that Jerusalem is the internal capital of Israel, and that the West Bank and Gaza are integral parts of the state.

"We are told to bring out any aspects of 'cooperation' between Jews and Arabs inside Israel," says one TV employee. "When an Israeli government official summons to his office a group of Arabs, we get orders to rush over there and report on it. They tell us to make it sound as if the Arabs had gone there to show loyalty to the Israeli government. We are also to delete any harsh complaints they may have over discrimination or racist Israeli attitudes. If there are complaints that have to be aired, they should be presented in a manner that would enhance the democratic character of Israel," the employee said.

Inner partisan or government debates are a constant item on the nightly news bulletin, but never do you catch any indication that the government is on the verge of collapse or that any single party is in total opposition to the policies of the current government. "This would be bad public relations, especially since Arab governments monitor our broadcast. We are told to always show the government as democratic and healthy," said an *Al Fajr* source.

It is well-known that Palestinians in Amman, Beirut or Damascus watch

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